Some Motives in Pagan Education Compared with the Christian Ideal

A Study in the Philosophy of Education

BY

SISTER MARY KATHARINE McCARTHY, O. S. B., A. B.

OF THE

SISTERS OF ST. BENEDICT, DULUTH, MINNESOTA

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to The Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree, Doctor of Philosophy

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PREFACE

The primary aim of this investigation is to compare the motives used in stimulating attention in characteristic Pagan countries with the motives logically consistent with Christian ideals. Experience has abundantly shown that Pagan motives will often percolate through a professedly Christian stratum, vitiating results. The hope of contributing even in a very small measure to the intensifying of interest in the question of motivation has prompted us to take up this line of research. The striking contrast between Pagan and ideally Christian motives can, we think, best be drawn when the two are arraigned in juxtaposition.

It is our pleasing duty to express our gratitude to Very Reverend Thomas Edward Shields, Ph.D., for the manifold help he has given in the preparation of this Dissertation, and also for the kindness and scholarly care with which he has directed our studies in the Philosophy of Education.

We also gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to Reverend Patrick J. McCormick, Ph.D., for valuable suggestions and to Reverend William Turner, S.T.D., who consented to read the first redaction of the Greek and Roman period of this Dissertation, as Reverend Franz Joseph Coeln, Ph.D., and Reverend Romanus Butin, Ph.D., did of the Jewish period. To all of these scholars we are indebted for valuable criticism while the author alone is accountable for any shortcoming in the work.

SISTER KATHARINE.

Feast of Saint Scholastica,
February 10, 1914.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The offspring of primitive man, following the primary instinct of self-preservation and the instinct of imitation, would early acquire such knowledge as would fit him to maintain, independently, an existence on as high a social plane as his fellows. External incentives to exertion would scarcely be needed. With the offspring of man who has outgrown this primitive state and has come into a social inheritance, more or less considerable, the question of motivation is a more important one.

What means were employed by Pagan peoples to enable and in a sense compel their offspring to come into possession of their social inheritance, as compared with the methods employed by the Perfect Teacher will form the substance of these pages. The motives for study will, we think, in any case, be dominated by the ideal a nation has in its training. The instrument would to a great extent be modelled to suit the purpose for which it was intended, so the motive made use of would vary with the ideal.

The countries selected as types of Pagan training are the Community-State, Sparta, with the production of the soldier-citizen as ideal and emulation as the dominant motive; Athens as a type of a "virtue" and beauty-loving City-state with emulation as a motive, but emulation to excel others not in physical strength and prowess, as in Sparta, but in mental astuteness and beauty of physical form through perfect and symmetrical development. Rome was selected as a type of country where the "practical" dominated as an ideal and the motive is rarely emulation but in large part constraint or punishment.

A chapter on the motives employed by the Jewish People is included in this work largely as a background to Christianity or perhaps, we might say, as a halting

place midway between the highly imperfect and the highest perfection. The ideal here is obedience to the behests of Jehovah. The motives were, we think, a high appraising of the dignity and distinction of their nation, and reverence for the commands of Jehovah. Constraint, of course, also plays a considerable part.

Next, in the chapter treating of the Christian Ideal, we have tried to analyze the methods used by the Divine Teacher, knowing as He did from eternity, the laws of development He Himself had given to the mind and knowing also the strength and the weakness of the individual, the use to be made of the instincts, etc. Here the spiritual ideal, seemingly dominant in Jewish education and yet fettered by hyper-critical interpretation of the "Law," is dominant. "For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for his soul?"[1]

In taking up the study of Greece as a whole, an attempt has been made to trace the roots of the Greeks love of contest and their reliance upon competition as a motive, back through the grey dawn of Homeric Times to the tradition, at least, of a more remote origin. In developing the chapters on Greece and Rome the writer has felt free to wander through the fields of Epic Poetry, the Drama, Philosophy and History, wherever light was thrown upon either ideal or motive.

The primary sources for Jewish Education were, of course, almost entirely the Old Testament and the Talmud, though Philo and Josephus have both furnished fairly reliable contemporary evaluation.

The lines of development of Chapter VIII are not entirely original in this work. The chapter is in large part a working out of the Method of the Master along lines suggested in "The Psychology of Education"[2] and

[1] Matt., XVI, 26.
[2] Cf. Shields, Psych. of Ed., Wash., 1905. Chap. 25.

developed in the Catholic Educational Series of Readers.[3] Truth is eternal and since the principles therein laid down seemed to us basic and as such in conformity with the Teachings of Christ, it remained only to trace the sources of the development of these principles and to compare them with the principles dominating the other countries studied, in their educational work. The Christian Ideal in Education is discussed largely along the same lines in the Catholic Educational Review.[4] This is simply a masterly presentation of the ideal, while the former is a psychological analysis of method. All of these works have been drawn upon.

The inheritance of man, coming into possession of twenty-five or thirty centuries of accumulated culture, is overwhelmingly vast. How shall we keep our youth down to the task of acquiring this inheritance? The motives for effort in Pagan schools were, as it would seem, from an examination of facts, inadequate. Besides, we have an added duty, that of transmitting a spiritual inheritance. This spiritual inheritance is not an addition or an accretion merely but a leaven which, it would seem, should permeate and invigorate the vast bulk of material, literary, institutional, social and aesthetic, to be transmitted, rendering it the easier to transmit. This, it seemed to us, was the Method of the Master and therefore the Christian Ideal.

[3] Cf. Cath. Ed. Series, Wash., 1909.
[4] Turner, Cath. Ed. Rev., Vol. II, p. 865.

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CHAPTER II

MOTIVES FURNISHED BY THE HOMERIC EPIC

In approaching the question of motivation in Greek education we are impressed at the outset by the dominant place held by a single motive, namely, emulation. So prevalent, indeed, was the spirit of emulation among the Greeks that the idea was carried over from the world of mortals into their conception of the world of the immortal gods. The first remote cause of the Trojan war was the anger of the goddess, Discord, upon being excluded from the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Jealous of the guests, she threw among them a golden apple bearing the inscription, "For the most beautiful." She supposed, and rightly so, that the goddesses would vie with one another for this trophy of beauty and thus the harmony of the feast would be destroyed and revenge for the slight would be secured. Juno, Minerva, and Venus each claimed the apple as her right. Paris was called in to decide. He decided in favor of Venus, who had promised as a remuneration to give him the fairest of women for his wife. Venus, as we know, fulfills the promise by aiding Paris in carrying off Helen, the wife of Menelaus. This abduction is the direct cause of the war.

The events connected with the preparation for the war were characterized, it is true, by magnanimity in the almost unanimous response of the Greek chieftains when asked to unite with Menelaus in trying to recover Helen. Of course, this ready response was in part, at least, simply a fulfillment of their vow to defend Helen and avenge her cause whenever necessary. There were, besides, some isolated examples of personal self-sacrifice. One of the most noteworthy of these was the willingness of Agamemnon to sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, one of the few characters in the Greek Classical Drama that is spotless when measured by the moral standards of any

age.[5] Still, the progress of the war was marked by discord, contention, emulation, and deceit on the part of both gods and men. Indeed, the student of Homer knows that loyalty, as understood today, is almost unknown in the whole array of names. One of the most striking examples of disloyalty to a cause is that furnished by Achilles himself. He was angered at having to yield a captive maid, Briseis, to Agamemnon and would have killed him though he was commander-in-chief of the forces and as such the fate of the Greeks rested very largely upon him. Acting upon the crafty advice of Athene, always partial to Troy, he decided to sulk in his tent.[6] For twenty-nine days, during which matters had gone from bad to worse for his countrymen, he persisted in his inactivity. Matters, as we know, finally came to such a pass that the Greeks were routed and the Trojans had begun to set fire to the ships. Neither the slaying of his countrymen nor the dishonor to his country had power to outweigh a personal slight. When he does finally return to the field, it is from an egoistic motive, wrath for the death of his friend, Patroclus, and desire for revenge.[7] Again, Zeus rules in name over the lesser gods who obeyed or disobeyed as it suited their whims. Right had no part in the whole strife. Mahaffy delineates the situation in the following words: "We are actually presented with the picture of a city of gods more immoral, more faithless, and more depraved than the world of men."[8]

Yet we know that Homer was the Greek child's and the Greek youth's main text for centuries. Hesiod, Theognis and Phokylides and some of the Lyric poets, it is true, soon found place on the curriculum, but Homer always held dominance. "They [these poems] were com-

[5] Cf. Eurip. Iphig. among the Tauri and Iphig. at Aulis.

[6] Il. Bk. I.

[7] Cf. Il. XVI.

[8] Soc. Life in Greece. London, 1874, p. 36.

mitted to memory by the Hellenic boys and studied by the Hellenic youths, who saw in Achilles a type of free and warlike Greece. . . .''[9] Scenes of emulation and contention, craft and cunning were then the Greek youths' daily mental food.

Motivation, as we know, may be influenced either directly or indirectly. The ordinary sources of indirect influence are the ideals presented to the child through story, song, or dramatic presentation. The ideals furnished by the Iliad and the Odyssey found an early critic in Plato, who would have banished the reading of Homer from the schools in his ideal republic. ''Nor yet is it proper to say in any case—what is indeed untrue—that gods wage war against gods, and intrigue and fight among themselves. We are not to teach this, if the future guards of the state are to deem it a most disgraceful thing to quarrel among themselves. . . . Stories like the chaining of Hera by her son Hephaestus, and the flinging of Hephaestus out of heaven for trying to take his mother's part when his father was beating her, and all other battles of the gods which are to be found in Homer, must be refused admittance into the state, whether they be allegorical or not. For a child cannot discriminate between what is allegory and what is not; and whatever at that time is adopted as matter of belief, has a tendency to become fixed and indelible; and therefore we deem it of the greatest importance that the fictions which children first hear should be adapted as far as possible to the promotion of virtue.''[10] Yet Homer continued to be the ''educator of Hellas'' and the Greek gods and goddesses who were but glorified men and women, having human love and human hate but having superhuman power continued to pass before the minds of the children.

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[9] Laurie, Pre-Christ. Ed. Lond., 1904, p. 197ff. Cf. p. 14, ff below.

[10] Plato, Rep. II, 378.

Even before the Iliad and the Odyssey reached the child through manuscript copy, the main narratives in Homer were known to him through hearing the separate episodes either recited or retold or both. Minstrelsy, as we know, held an important place in the formative years of the Greeks just as it did among the Celts, the Teutons, etc. But if we compare the content of, for instance, the Arthurian Cycle with the content of the Homeric Poems together with the dramas dealing with episodes connected with the main narrative, we find, in the first instance, men idealized so as to be almost godlike; in the second instance, we find gods characterized as beneath fairly good men in the moral order. Both the Iliad and the Odyssey give evidence of the custom of having minstrels sing in at least the great homes.[11] The Iliad refers to a minstrel only once[12] but in book nine, where Ulysses and the other Greek heroes go to the tent of Achilles to plead with him to return to the field, they find him "With a sweet-tuned harp, cheering his mind . . . and glorious deeds of mighty men he sung."[13] This would seem to show that outside the ranks of the minstrel, song accompanied by the harp was not unknown. The Odyssey, as we know, makes repeated mention not only of minstrels but of the subjects of their song. The themes mentioned are the episodes of a quarrel between Odysseus and Achilles, the story of the Wooden Horse, the return of the Achaeans from Troy.[14] In their social gatherings, then, it would seem that the custom was to pass the time listening to the narratives later embodied in the Homeric Epic.

During the latter part of the sixth century B. C. the "rhapsode" or the rhapsodist, a sort of professional public reciter, sang side by side with the minstrel and

[11] Cf. Jebb, Introd. Hom. 6th Ed. Boston, 1902, p. 74.
[12] Cf. II, 597.
[13] II, IX, 257 ff.
[14] Cf. Od. 8, 65; 8, 500; 1,352; 8,578; 9, 7.

during the following centuries gradually replaced him. In Xenophon, Antisthenes speaking to Niceratus reminds him that others as well as himself are quite familiar with Homer: "You have not forgotten, perhaps, that besides yourself there is not a rhapsodist who does not know these poems?"

"Forgotten! Is it likely," he replied, "considering I had to listen to them almost daily."[15] A second reference is made to the rhapsodists by Xenophon in the Memorabilia. Socrates is speaking to Euthydemus relative to selecting a profession. Socrates says, "Then do you wish to be an astronomer, or (as the youth signified dissent) possibly a rhapsodist," he asked, "for I am told you have the entire works of Homer in your possession?"

"May God forbid! not I!" ejaculated the youth, "Rhapsodists have a very exact acquaintance with epic poetry, I know, of course; but they are empty-pated creatures enough themselves."[16]

Despite this low estimate of the mentality of the rhapsodists, if we are to accept the testimony of Xenophon, their power to sway an audience was great. An idea of their influence can be gleaned from Plato's Ion. Socrates is speaking. "But tell me this, Ion; and do not have any reserve in answering what I ask you: When you recite the epic strains so well, and captivate the spectators—when you sing of Odysseus leaping upon the floor, suddenly appearing to the eyes of the suitors and pouring out the arrows before his feet—or Achilles rushing down upon Hector or the pathetic passage concerning Andromache, or Hecuba or Priam—are you master of yourself or are you out of yourself? Does your soul in her enthusiasm think that she is present at the scene, in Ithaca, or in Troy, or wherever else it may be . . .?" Ion replies, "When I look up from the stage, I see them

[15] Cf. Symp., III, 6.
[16] Xen. Mem. IV, II, 10. Cf. Plato, Ion.

weeping, and expressing fear and awe in sympathy with the poem, I am obliged to attend to such things. If I make them sit down weeping, I may laugh to think of the money I shall get: if I make them laugh, I shall have to cry for want of money."[17] The effect was heightened further by the fact that the rhapsodist spoke to large audiences, numbering at times we are told as many as twenty thousand.[18] Before the boy could read, then, he had very probably an acquaintance with the "Wrath of Achilles" and the other main narratives connected with the Trojan War either directly from the minstrel or the rhapsodist or indirectly from the recounting of these narratives in the home.

When the child could read, the Poems of Homer were given to him for they were thought to contain all that was necessary to make a well-balanced citizen.[19] When Niceratus is asked in Xenophon's Symposium, what knowledge he most prided himself in, he answered "My father, in his pains to make me a good man, compelled me to learn the whole of Homer's poems, and so it happens that even now I can recite the Iliad and the Odyssey by heart. . . ."[20] Protagoras, in Plato's Dialogue of this name, in outlining the education of the Athenian boy says: "And when a boy has learned his letters and is beginning to understand what is written as before he understood only what was spoken, they put into his hands the works of great poets, which he reads sitting on a bench at school; in these are contained many admonitions, and many tales and praises and encomia of ancient famous men, which he is required to learn by heart, in order that he may imitate or emulate them and desire to become like them."[21]

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[17] Plato, Ion, 535.
[18] Cf. Jebb, Introd. to Homer, Glasg., 1898, p. 79.
[19] Cf. Strabo I, 3; Plato, Prot. 325 E.
[20] Xen. Symp., III, 5.
[21] Prot. 326.

The literature, then, at the disposal of the child was, it would seem, largely the Homeric Epics in which the goddesses contended for a trophy of beauty, the gods and goddesses contended by fair and foul means for the welfare of their individual favorites, heroes contended for captive maidens.

It has been urged by Plutarch in defense of Homer that "the recital and portrayal of base actions profits and does not harm the hearer, if the representation also shows the disgrace and injury it brings upon the doers."[22] This statement, we think, would not find general acceptance even if these base actions were performed by ordinary men. If these were the acts of heroes and gods the evil effects would be more dreaded. There is not a single line, we think, in praise of morality in the Iliad or the Odyssey. The epithets applied to the heroes in these Epics all portray strength, dexterity, courage, etc. Such words give the only concept of virtue; truthfulness, chastity, mercy or honesty never enter into the portrayal of the ideal man in the Homeric poems. Ability to "win out" replaces completely moral worth.[23]

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[22] Plut. on Ed. Transl. Super. Syracuse, 1910, p. 100.
[23] Cf. Ibid., p. 186.

CHAPTER III

GREEK ATHLETICS IN HOMERIC AND EARLY HISTORIC TIMES

The Homeric poems bear repeated evidence of the Greek love of competition. There is mention of games celebrated on various occasions such as the entertainment of a guest, the death of a hero, etc. And it would seem that the perfection and skill portrayed in the descriptions of the athletic contests in the Iliad and the Odyssey could not belong to a people beginning an athletic life. "The descriptions of the games in the Iliad could only have been written by a poet living among an athletic people with a long tradition of athletics, and such are the Achaeans."[24]

There is a marked diversity of contests. The wooers make pastime for themselves with casting quoits and spears.[25] Then we have descriptions of foot-races, wrestling, boxing, throwing weights,[26] besides chariot races.[27] Euryalius, the Phaeacian, offends Odysseus by taking him for one unskilled in contests, a merchant perhaps. Odysseus resents the implication in the following words: "O stranger, basely thou speakest; as the fool of men art thou."[28] Odysseus entered the contests and outstripped all. Besides, he further shames the boastful Phaeacian by telling of the prowess of his youth and of his having contended with the gods themselves. He, moreover, speaks of a more remote past when men were more valiant and when men and gods commonly contended.[29] This would point to the tradition at least of a well-developed athletic life even before the grey-dawn of the Homeric age.

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[24] Gardiner, Gk. Athl. Sports and Fest. Lond., 1910, p. 11.
[25] Od. IV, 626.
[26] Od. VIII, 160 ff.
[27] Il. II, 697; XXIII, 630; etc.
[28] Cf. Od. VIII, 166.
[29] VIII, 220 ff.

A detailed description of one of these contests is given in the eighteenth book of the Odyssey but the "classic" description is that of the funeral games of Patroclus, occupying almost all the twenty-third Iliad. Funerals were marked by athletic contests lasting at times for several days. The most splendid and varied were those celebrated in honor of Patroclus. Here the prizes were rich and, contrary to the usual custom, every competitor was given a prize. The prizes offered in these Homeric contests varied; a woman skilled in needle work, a mare in foal, a tripod, an ox-hide, etc. Usually only the successful candidate was rewarded but at times, as we noted above, every contestant was given a prize. Despite the frequent recurrence of these contests, it would seem that they were rather a spontaneous outgrowth of the play instinct with no compulsion, no previous special training and on the whole, we think, no excess. Besides, the games were by no means general. When sports were held on an elaborate scale only the heroes contended.

ATHLETICS IN EARLY HISTORIC TIMES

When we pass beyond the shadowy Homeric period to the beginning of the historic age in Greece, we soon find regularly organized athletic festivals. These festivals for the most part seem to be connected with the worship of the gods and the games seem to have been but a development of the Homeric funeral games. "At Aegosthena there is a sanctuary of Melampus, son of Amythaon, and a small figure of a man carved in relief on a monument; and they sacrificed to Melampus and held a yearly festival."[30] Ancestor worship and hero worship appear from this to have preceded the worship of the gods and to have developed into it. Nowhere could we find a trace of anything but free and wholesome spontaneity with little or no organization in Greek athletics down to about 600 B. C.

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[30] Paus. transl. Frazer, I, 44, 8.

We must infer from Pindar[31] and also indirectly from Homer that the Olympian Games existed in pre-Dorian times. "The antiquity of this sport at Olympia is confirmed by the discovery of a number of very early votive offerings, many of them models of horses and chariots, found in a layer that extends below the foundations of Heraeum. This temple was founded, it is said, by the people of Scillus some eight years after the coming of Oxylus; and even if we cannot go as far as Dr. Dorpfeld, who assigns it to the tenth or eleventh centuries, there is no doubt of its great antiquity, and that the Scillunites were of an Arcadian and not of Dorian stock."[32]

From very early times women were not allowed to be present at the Olympian games. "It is a law of Elis to cast down from the mountain (Typaeum) any woman who shall be found to have come to the Olympic Games or even to have crossed the Alpheus on the forbidden days."[33] Only one woman, according to Pausanius ever attempted to be present at these contests. She disguised as a trainer, and brought her son to compete. Transported by his success, she threw herself over the barriers within which the trainers were enclosed and in so doing her sex was discovered. Her life was spared, but shortly after "they made a law that for the future trainers should enter the lists naked."[34] However, there was compensation made for this discrimination by holding games exclusively for women; these were the Heraea. These games come down to us like the Olympic games from the mists of prehistoric times.[35] The prizes offered in the Heraea were crowns of olive and a share of the heifer sacrificed to Hera. The victor further enjoyed the privilege of setting up statues of herself in the Heraeum.

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31 Cf. Ol. XI, 64 ff.
32 Gardiner, Gk. Ath. Sports and Fest. London, 1910, p. 41.
33 Paus., V, 6, 7.
34 Op. Cit.
35 Cf. Paus., V, 16.

The names of the victors in various athletic contests have been carefully preserved. The record of the victors in the Olympiads from 776 B. C., the date of the first historic Olympiad, is complete, though some critics are disposed to call into question the value of the early portion of the record. Previous to the sixth century before Christ there were other Panhellenic festivals, as we know: the Delphian, Nemean, and Isthmian. However, it was not until the sixth century that we find anything like organized athletics. We find Solon laying down laws for the conduct of the palaestrae and the gymnasia. Besides, this lawgiver offered public rewards for the winner in the contests. The Olympian victor was awarded five hundred drachmae and each of the victors in the other games was awarded one hundred drachmae.[36] Besides these material rewards, the Olympic victors were often worshipped during their lifetime[37] and in some instances they were supposed to heal diseases and bring other aids to men. "I know many other places in Greece and in foreign lands where images of Theagines are set up, and where he heals diseases, and is honored by the natives.[38] This Theagenes was a very noted athlete who is said to have won no less than fourteen hundred crowns.[39]

Sparta and Athens and, indeed, every other Greek state seem to have provided for the physical training of boys. Sparta provided also that girls should receive practically the same physical training as the boys. Competition entered into all the work of the gymnasium and the palaestra and the various local festivals furnished an opportunity of testing the skill. Early in the sixth century, we find youths admitted as competitors in the Olympiad. Thus, rival states had an opportunity to test out the products of their training and all classes soon

[36] Plut. Solon, 23.
[37] Hdt., V, 47.
[38] Paus, VI, II, 9. Cf. Luc. Deor. Concilium, 12.
[39] Paus, VI, II, 5.

pushed into the athletic arena. Much time was now given to so-called professional training and athletics became a science everywhere except in Sparta. The Spartan was never allowed to employ a trainer and hence he soon dropped down from the high place formerly held in the great games.[40] Sparta, from that time forward, continued her policy of training primarily for effective warfare. The other states developed a highly organized system of scientific competition.

The old-time freedom completely died out of athletics during the latter part of the sixth and the early part of the fifth centuries. Henceforth, the athlete, in order to have any chance of succeeding, gave up his whole time to regulation of diet, exercise, massage, etc.

Critics of exaggerated athleticism were early found. One ground for criticism was this that the competitor for athletic fame had to abstain from any other kind of pursuit. This necessarily called forth the question, to what end?[41] Then, contrary to the usage of today, the athlete ate much. He was thus rendered, as they claim, torpid, effeminate and averse to war. Furthermore, specialization in any one kind of athletic pursuit exclusively developed one part of the body more than another, producing lack of proportion. The long-distance runner developed thick legs and a slender body; the boxer, broad shoulders and thin legs, etc.[42] Xenophanes of Kolophon is the earliest critic of athletics we can find, and he is followed shortly after by Euripides who vigorously denounces the athletic life; "Of countless ills in Hellas, the race of athletes is quite the worst . . . they are slaves of their jaw and worshippers of their belly. . . . In youth they go about in splendor, the admiration of their city, but when old age comes upon them they are cast aside like worn-out coats. I blame the custom of the

[40] Cf. Aris. Pol. 1338b.
[41] Cf. Plato, Laws, VII, 807.
[42] Cf. Xen. Symp., II, 17.

Hellenes who gather together to watch these men, honoring a useless pleasure. Who ever helped his fatherland by winning a crown for wrestling, or speed of foot or flinging the quoit or giving a good blow in the jaw? Will they fight the foe with quoits or smite their fists through shields? Garlands should be kept for the wise and good and for him who best rules the city by his temperance and justice, or by his words drives away evil deeds, preventing strife and sedition.[43]

[43] Eurip. Fragm. Autolycus (Barnes Ed., 1-20.)

CHAPTER IV

SPARTAN TRAINING

The old Greek ideal in education was to make men, ready in word and deed, "speakers of words and doers of deeds."[44] While these words addressed to Achilles by Phoenix seem to sum up the general tenor of Greek education in the entire land, yet, in actual working out, we find that the exigencies of the times, peculiar local differences, etc., tended to direct emphasis to one point in one city-state and to another in another. Thus the education in Athens and in Sparta came to be dissimilar.

The nucleus of the City-state Sparta was a band of Dorian Greeks who, unlike their less-favored brethren, were not absorbed by the original inhabitants of the district in which they settled. But then these Spartans, being conquerors, and being compelled to live in the midst of the conquered, had to be continually on the alert not to lose the prize.[45] The difficulty of the situation was further increased by this circumstance that the conquered out-numbered the conquerors by more than ten to one, hence the need of training for efficient warfare, the possibility of which was never an hour remote. Another difference between the system of education in Sparta and in Athens had its origin in the fact that in Athens, the Laws of Solon left the task of directing the education of the child almost exclusively to the father of the family; in Sparta, as we know, the Laws of Lycurgus made education a state duty.[46] "Every one in Sparta was a part of a beautifully organized machine, designed almost exclusively for military purposes.[47] Education was exactly the same for all. To obviate the persistence of any indi-

[44] Il., IX, 443; Cf. Monroe, Hist. Ed. N. Y., 1911, p. 64 ff.
[45] Cf. Plato, Laws, I, 630.
[46] Cf. Aris. Pol., 1333a; 1337a.
[47] Freeman, Schools of Hellas, Lond., 1907, p. 12.

vidualizing tendencies associated with particular homes, the boys were taken from their homes so that all might be under exactly the same influences and might emerge from the training stamped only with that general stamp —the Spartan. No other State monopolized as a public duty the training of the child as did the Spartan City-state.[48] From the age of seven, the life of the Spartan boy was a matter of constant state supervision. He was continually under the public eye. He ate, drank, slept, exercised, as the state prescribed.

This system of education in the gross found an advocate in Aristotle, although he condemns, as we shall see, many of the details of the system. "We must not suppose that any citizen belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state; and we are each a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole. In this particular the Lacedaemonians are to be praised, for they take the greatest pains about their children and make education the business of the state."[49] A somewhat detailed account of the Spartan system is given by Xenophon when contrasting the constitution of Sparta with that of Athens: "When we turn to Lycurgus, instead of leaving it to each member of the state privately to appoint a slave to be his son's tutor, he sets over the young Spartans a public guardian, the Paidonomus or "pastor"; to give him his proper title, with complete authority over them. . . . He had the power to hold musters of the boys, and as their overseer, in case of any misbehavior to chastise severely. The legislator further supplied the pastor with a body of youths in the prime of life, and bearing whips, to inflict punishment when necessary. . . ."[50] But the boy was not only under the supervision of the Paidonomus; a complete system of espionage was instituted. When the Paidonomus was

[48] Cf. Xen. Pol. Lac., II, 2 ff.
[49] Pol., 1337a.
[50] Pol. of the Lac., II, 2.

absent the Laws of Lycurgus gave "to any citizen who chanced to be present authority to lay upon them injunctions for their good and to chastise them for any trespass committed."[51] But to perfect the system, if no grown person were present, the same Laws provided that one of the boys should be leader for the time. Thus there was an unbroken chain of supervisors. And yet more to be wondered at, the state kept watch even after the boys had outgrown the ordinary period of school-life. For Lycurgus realized that this was of all periods the one surrounded with most dangers. "This was the right moment at which to impose tenfold labor upon the growing youth, and to devise for him a subtle system of absorbing occupation."[52] Again, a punishment was ordained for the shirker, that of having "to forfeit henceforth all claim to the glorious honor of the state."[53]

Accompanying this highly organized system of supervision was an organized system of punishments. Floggings were frequent and appear to have been resorted to not only as punishments and deterrents, but for the purpose of teaching endurance. "We have seen many of them die under the lash at the altar of Diana Orthia."[54] But besides these floggings there is still another circumstance under which the boy might merit the lash. Plutarch relates that it was no uncommon thing for an Iren to send one boy to get this, another that, "these they steal where they can find them, either slyly getting into the gardens, or else craftily and warily creeping to the common tables, but if any one be caught he is severely flogged for negligence or want of dexterity. . . . The boys steal with so much caution that one of them having conveyed a young fox under his garment suffered the

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51 Pol. of the Lac., II, 8.
52 Xen. Pol. of the Lac., III, 2.
53 Ibid., III, 3.
54 Plut. Life of Lycurg. (in "Ideal Commonwealths"), Lond., 1887, p. 32.

creature to tear out his bowels with his teeth and claws, choosing rather to die than to be detected. . . .''[55] Xenophon, perhaps more reliable than Plutarch, says that the boys were trained to penurious living, but ''on the other hand, in order to guard against a too great pinch of starvation, though he did not actually allow the boys to help themselves without further trouble to what they needed more, he did give them permission to steal this thing or that in order to alleviate their hunger.''[56] Again, in the Anabasis, Xenophon, speaking to Cheirisophus, says ''for you Lacedaemonians as I have often been told, you who belong to the 'peers' practice stealing from your boyhood up; . . . and in order, I presume, to stimulate your sense of secretiveness, and to make you master thieves, it is lawful for you to get a whipping, if you are caught.''[57]

A very common form of punishment was to have the thumb bitten. We are told that the Irens were accustomed to seat themselves in the midst of the boys and in order to develop readiness of speech and brevity, characteristic of Laconia, to ask them such a question as, who is a good citizen? Failure to give a prompt reply strengthened by the reasons, would inevitably call upon the offender this particular punishment. The ''inspirer'' of the boy usually had to bite the thumb of his delinquent charge under these circumstances. His duty here must have been a very delicate one. His personal interest in the boy of his choice would lead him, no doubt, to wish to inflict only minimum punishment; yet, if the punishment fell short of the norm or exceeded it, the Iren had his own thumb bitten by a brother Iren after the boys had been dismissed. Their punishments, then, would seem to have been both numerous and wholly impartial.

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[55] Life of Lycurg. (in "Ideal Commonwealths"), Lond., 1887, p. 22.
[56] Pol. Lac., 2.
[57] Anab., IV, 6, 14; Cf. Plato, Laws I, 628.

Since the content of Spartan education was for the most part music of the martial type and gymnastics, there was ample opportunity for the exercising of that bent for competition so characteristic of the Greek. Tests of dexterity in running, wrestling, javelin-throwing, fighting, etc., were frequent. In Sparta alone, however, did these fights sink almost to brutality. Cicero says that even in his day Spartan youths could be seen contending in battle and preferring rather to be slain than to relinquish the hope of victory.[58] The order of these youthful battles is given by Pausanius. First came the sacrifice of a puppy to Enyalius; next, the lads pitted tame bears against each other and the side whose bear won was supposed to win in the fight. Then, as to the actual contest, he says, "In fighting they strike, and kick, and bite, and gouge out each other's eyes. Thus they fight man to man. But they also charge in serried masses and push each other into the water."[59]

Plato commends this custom of practicing for war and thinks that every city having good sense should take to the field at least once a month, "they should always provide that there be games and sacrificial feasts, and they should have tournaments imitating in as lively a manner as possible real battles. And they should distribute prizes of victory and valor to the competitors, passing censures and encomiums on one another according to the character they bear in the contests and in their whole life, honoring him who seems to be the best, and blaming him who is the opposite. And let poets celebrate the victors."[60] But as we shall see below[61] he blames the Spartans for making war a primary end rather than simply a means of promoting peace.

The reward of praise or honor was always highly

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[58] Tusc. Disp., V, 27.
[59] Paus. Descr. Greece, III, 14.
[60] Laws, VIII, 829.
[61] Cf., page 31 ff.

esteemed by the Spartan. We are told of a certain Spartan who was offered large sums of money on condition that he would not enter the Olympian lists. He refused the offer, entered the lists, and having with great difficulty thrown his antagonist, some one put this question to him, "Spartan, what will you get for this victory?" He answered with a smile, "I shall have the honor to fight foremost in the ranks before my prince."[62] Plato, while recommending contests, "for these sort of exercises and no other are useful in peace and war,"[63] would have us understand contests as having reference to physical contests only. In another instance he says: "Bodily exercise when compulsory does no harm, but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion has no hold on the mind. . . . Do not use compulsion."[64] Yet, as we may judge from the excerpt given above[65] from the Laws, he approves of prizes and contests.

Fortunately for the Spartan boy there was little knowledge required, only such as was necessary, we are told. We have ample evidence of this in Plato's Dialogues and Laws, in Xenophon and Pausanius. In Greater Hippias, Socrates is speaking with Hippias who has just returned from Laconia. He says the Lacedaemonians are not interested in mathematics and astronomy, harmonics and letters but in "the genealogies of heroes and of men, the founding of cities and archaeology in general. They are so curious in these subjects that I am obliged to study them on purpose."[66]

At the age of thirty, the Spartan boy reached his majority and from henceforth political battles, wild bear hunts, and actual warfare, developed further the fighting instinct. Besides, a system of lifelong strife between

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[62] Plut. Life of Lycurg. (in "Ideal Commonwealths"). London, 1887, p. 201.
[63] Laws, VII, 796.
[64] Rep., VII, 536.
[65] Cf., page 29.
[66] Greater Hip. Whewell's transl., Vol., II, p. 93.

groups of individuals was instituted. One group was always on the alert to discover in members of the opposing group some slip of conduct. "And so is set on foot that strife in which . . . each against other and in separate camps, the rival parties train for victory."[67]

Aristotle, commenting on the almost wholly physical character of Spartan education, says: "The Lacedaemonians make their children fierce (brutal) by painful labor, considering this to be chiefly useful to inspire them with courage and even with respect to this, they do not thus attain its end; for we do not find either in other animals, or in other nations, that courage necessarily attends the most cruel, but rather the milder. For there are many people who are eager both to kill men and to devour human flesh, as the Achaeans, . . . but are men of no courage."[68] Though Plato modeled his ideal Republic upon Sparta, yet he finds fault with Lycurgus for making war the *sole* aim. In his Laws he first leads his hearers up to the acknowledgment that "War, whether external or civil is not best, and the end of either is to be deprecated; but peace with one another and good will are best." Then he draws the following conclusion as naturally embodied in the above premise, "No one can be a true statesman, who looks only or first of all to external warfare; nor will he ever be a sound legislator who orders peace for the sake of war, and not war for the sake of peace."[69] He continues further, "Tell me were not the syssitia and then the gymnasia invented by your legislator with a view to war? . . . (Meg.) Hunting is third in order. . . . I think I can get as far as the fourth head, which is the frequent endurance of pain, exhibited among us Spartans in certain hand-to-hand fights; also in stealing with the prospect of getting a good beating. . . . Marvelous, too, is the endurance which our citizens show

[67] Xen. Pol. Lac., IV, 3.
[68] Pol., 1338b.
[69] Laws, I, 628.

in the naked exercises, contending against the savage heat; and there are many similar practices, to speak of which in detail would be endless.''[70] The interpolator then inquires whether courage is to be defined as a combat against fears and pains only or against desires and pleasures, and against flatterers, and shows that the man who is overcome by pleasure is inferior in a more disgraceful sense than he who is overcome by pain. Then he points out the lack of foresight in the lawgivers of Crete and Lacedaemon in legislating to meet attacks which come only from one side, the pain side, and in neglecting to provide for attacks from the pleasure side.[71]

This summary would seem to strike at the roots of the cause of the failure of that splendidly organized system of Spartan Education. The system was built upon the assumption that training from early youth in external restraint and endurance would yield a nation of warriors and patroits. It did not do this because only the body had been trained while the heart and the mind had not been attuned to intelligent service. Plato says, and we agree with him, that pleasure-pain are the first perceptions of children and the forms under which virtue and vice are originally presented to them. ''Now, I mean by education that training that is given by suitable habits to the first instincts of children; when pleasure and friendship and pain and hatred, are rightly planted in souls not yet capable of understanding the nature of them, and who find them after they have attained to reason in harmony with her. This harmony of the soul, taken as a whole, is virtue; but the particular training in respect of pleasure and pain, which leads you always to hate what you ought to hate, and love what you ought to love from the beginning of life to the end, may be separated off; and, in my view will be rightly called education.''[72]

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[70] Laws, I, 633.
[71] Cf. Laws, I, 634.
[72] Plato, Laws, II, 653.

In the Spartan system of training there was no thought purposely given, so far as we can determine, to intelligent response to pleasure stimuli in a way neither detrimental to the individual himself nor to society. He was taught only to inhibit nature's response to pain by a gradual process of hardening. That the Spartan system failed in what it aimed at is a fact of history. "See that thou be ever best and above all others distinguished,"[73] might as a working model develop warriors, perhaps even citizens, efficient enough, if measured by the standards of the times, but could scarcely do more. That it did not do this, the unrest and discontent and frequent political changes in Sparta show. One reason for this is explained by Aristotle: "Neither is a city to be deemed happy or a legislator to be praised because he trains his children to conquer and obtain dominion over his neighbors, for there is great evil in this. On a similar principle any citizen who could would obtain power in his own state."[74] He expresses surprise that people "commend the Lacedaemonian Constitution and praise the legislator for making war the sole aim . . . but surely they (the Lacedaemonians) are not happy now that their empire has passed away, nor was their legislator right."[75] The inadequacy of the system seems evident from the fact that only so long as they were the sole people who devoted themselves to prolonged exercise, were they superior. Later, they were inferior both in gymnastic contests and in war. Their only superiority according to Aristotle was not due to their superior training but to the fact that they alone were trained. Their training did not produce well-rounded men and failed in that which alone is sought, the conservation of the state.[76] Even when Sparta was victorious in war and had attained supremacy

[73] Homer, Il. VI, 208.
[74] Pol., 1333b.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Cf. Aris. Pol., 1338b.

over Athens she did not know how to rule intelligently and successfully. Her supremacy, in Greece, consequently, lasted only thirty-four years. And during this time the country was made so helpless by the forced dissolution of any league or compact aiming at the preservation of Greek unity that the country, politically, never overcame the deleterious effects of Sparta's short period of dominance.

The drawbacks in this elaborate system of training would seem to be first, this—already pointed out from Aristotle's Politics,[77] and discussed in Plato's Republic[78]—the brutalizing effect of almost exclusive training for strength of body. Another factor tending to produce the same effect was their scourgings aiming at teaching endurance.[79] A third factor was the play given to passion in their various contests, particularly in the hand-to-hand fights referred to by Pausanius,[80] Cicero,[81] and others. Then the moral effects of disregarding property rights by encouraging or sanctioning petty thefts in order to develop cunning and alertness in time of war must have lead to undesirable consequences. A further objection would seem to be this that their elaborate system of espionage made the free moral act of an isolated individual an impossibility; there was only one conscience, the state's. The Spartan boy was hedged in on all sides so as never, it seems to us, to have had an opportunity to do the right for right's sake. There was no opportunity for willing obedience to law from a sense of honor and a knowledge of duty. It was, as we said before, a training exclusively from without. Still another danger which Aristotle calls attention to in his Politics and which we have mentioned above[82] was that being trained to con-

[77] Cf. p. 31.
[78] Cf. III, 410, ff.
[79] Cf. p. 27 above.
[80] Cf. p. 29 above.
[81] Cf. p. 29 above.
[82] Cf. p. 33 above.

quer simply and obtain dominion over their neighbors, there was nothing to prevent them from trying to obtain power in their own state. The result was perpetual jealousy and political intrigue.

Another result which we would expect to find anywhere under similar circumstances was that the Spartan was wholly unable to adjust his life to conditions outside of Sparta. Consequently, when away from Sparta, he was more disposed to fall into lawlessness than one less trained. "The obedience to law that had been inculcated in the vale of the Eurotas, was forgotten as soon as the Spartan general passed into a wider field: the simplicity and scorn of luxury which the whole of his life tended to produce, was changed into venality and greed for gold almost unparalleled . . . the duties of a man to his state were diligently taught; the duties of man to man were passed over in silence."[83]

[83] Wilkins, Nat. Ed. in Greece. N. Y., 1911, p. 42.

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CHAPTER V

ATHENIAN TRAINING

The main difference between the training of the Athenian and that of the Spartan is pointed out by Thucydides[84] in the Periclean Oration. "And in the matter of education, whereas they (the Spartans) from early youth are always undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease and are equally ready to face the perils which they face . . . If then we prefer to face danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage that is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? Since we do not anticipate the pain, although when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus, too, our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. . . . I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the powers of adapting himself to the most varied form of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact. . . . For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is greater than her fame. . . ."[84]

In Athens, as we know, geographic conditions made it tolerably easy for an army to offer effective resistance to an enemy. Then, this state was not in the position of conqueror to an overwhelmingly large number of conquered, as was the case in Sparta. Consequently, training for warfare was not so imperative. Besides, the glory of the Spartan was identified with the glory of his country, at least in theory; the glory of the Athenian was to a very great extent a personal matter. Rossignal sums up the relation of the individual to the state in Athens

[84] Transl. Jowett, Bk. II, 39 ff.

in the following words: "Pour trouver un peuple, qui ait dignement compris la destinée humaine, qui ait secondé de tous ses efforts la liberté de l'esprit et le mouvement de l'intelligence, il faut arriver aux Athénians, et aux Athénians gouvernés par la législation de Solon. C'est alors que l'homme s'élance dans toutes les voies, qui s'ouvrent à l'activité de son génie. Les arts déjà connus sont perfectionnés; on en invente de nouveaux; et le seul aliment qui nourrit cette ardeur, c'est l'émulation, et le suffrage d'un peuple éclairé. La patrie n'est plus cette maîtresse impérieuse et jalouse, qui commandait le sacrifice de toutes les volentés; c'est un centre commun d'amour enthouiaste et libre pour le culte des mêmes dieux, l'observation des mêmes lois, l'inviolabilité du foyer domestique, la dignité de chacun, l'honneur et l'indépendance de tous."[85] The Ionian Athenian esteemed as of first importance beauty of form and a certain mental development which might be termed grace or perhaps, more correctly, subtlety of intellect. The Dorian Spartan esteemed only physical strength and endurance and terseness of speech.

In Athens there was no state system of education. An undifferentiated state system such as existed in Sparta would have been foreign to the genius of this people. The Athenian child was trained in the home by the nurse and the mother until he was about seven,—the age varied somewhat. "The children of the rich begin to go to school sooner and leave off later."[86] These seven years were pleasurable, we judge from the frequent mention of toys, such as the rattle, the rocking horse, etc., and from this further circumstance that cradle songs seem to have been sung to soothe the child. "And the woman, touching the heads of her children, spake thus: 'Sleep, my babes, a sweet sleep, and one from which you may wake;

[85] De L'Education chez les Anciens. Paris, 1888, p. 25 ff.
[86] Plato, Prot., 326.

sleep, my lives, two brothers, secure children, happily may you sleep, and happily arrive at morn.' "[87]

Yet there seems to have been strict supervision during this period. Plato, in speaking of Athenian education, says "Education and admonition begin in the first years of childhood, and last to the very end of life. Mother, and nurse and father and tutor are quarrelling about the improvement of the child as soon as ever he is able to understand them: he cannot say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable, that is dishonorable; this is holy, that is unholy; do this and abstain from that. And if he obeys, well and good; if not, he is straightened by threats and blows like a piece of warped wood."[88]

When the school age had arrived, the child was placed under the care of a pedagogue, usually a slave, and was conducted by him daily to one of the many "private-venture" schools. His first teacher outside the home was the grammatist and his first books, as pointed out above,[89] were Homer and Hesiod. Strabo, together with the other authorities mentioned above[90] in this connection, gives evidence of this. "The ancients define poetry as a primitive philosophy, guiding our life from infancy, and pleasantly regulating our morals, our tastes, and our actions. . . . On this account the earliest lessons which the citizens of Greece convey to children are from the poets; certainly not alone for the purpose of amusing their minds, but for their instruction."[91] Laurie is of the opinion that "The tales of the gods which Plato would have banished from education were unquestionably an expression of the riotous and imaginative spirit of the Greeks, and could not possibly have influenced their lives

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[87] Theoc. Idyll, XXIV.
[88] Prot., 325.
[89] p. 13ff.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Strabo, I, 3.

to virtue."[92] The evidence brought forward in chapter second pointed to the same conclusions, it would seem.

If there was a large measure of freedom in Athenian education as compared with Spartan, yet the state set some restrictions and made some prescriptions. Music and gymnastics were prescribed for all. Socrates, in the Dialogues of Plato, says: "Were not the laws, which have charge of education, right in commanding your father to train you in music and gymnastics?"[93] It would seem from both Aeschines and Plato that the law ordained first, that the curricula of the various schools should contain both music and gymnastics; secondly, that these schools should not open before sunrise and should close before sunset. The Areopagus, as we know, had supervision of all the schools.[94] We think, however, basing our opinion upon the complaints of Isocrates, that this duty was not zealously fulfilled.

Aristotle finds fault with the freedom regarding matters educational allowed in Athens and thinks that since the whole city has one and the same end, that education should be the same for all. Yet, he thinks that education should not be of the restricted kind given at Sparta for "to be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls."[95]

About the age of twelve, gymnastic training, which up to this time had accompanied literary instruction, began to be given precedence. Music also was broadened in its scope so as to include instruction on the zithar. The gymnastic exercises seem to have consisted of wrestling, throwing the discus, practicing the pancratium, and jumping. There were also exercises in swimming and in boat-racing.[96] In all of these exercises, competition was a large

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92 Laurie, Prechrist. Ed. Lond., 1904, p. 217.
93 Plato, Crito, 50 E; Cf. Prot. 325 E; Aeschines, Timarch., 9, 10.
94 Cf. Isoc. Areop., 17c.
95 Pol. 1338b; Cf. Plato, Rep., VII, 525ff.
96 Cf. Paus. II, XXXV, 1.

factor in maintaining attention. There seems to have been none of that harshness of discipline characteristic of Spartan training. For, "Not by her discipline, like Sparta and Rome, but by the unfailing charm of her gracious influence did Athens train her children."[97]

The aim of the gymnastic training in Athens seems to have been to develop freedom, agility, and harmonious development of the body. At no time did the Athenians try to develop strength merely or physical endurance. They worshipped,[98] we might almost say, bodily perfection. Therefore, anything tending to disfigure the body even temporarily was reprehensible. But, through their over attention to bodily exercises, they failed often to attain that for which they strove most. Aristotle, no doubt, had in mind the Athenians when he says: "Of these states, which in our own day seem to take the greatest care of children, some aim at producing in them an athletic habit, but they only injure their forms and stunt their growth."[99]

At eighteen, the young man exchanged the palaestra for the gymnasium and devoted the two following years to exclusive bodily training, military and gymnastic, as a final preparation for complete citizenship.[100] There were three public gymnasia in Athens and we are told by Xenophon that there were also numerous private gymnasia. "Rich men have in many cases private gymnasia and baths with dressing rooms and the people take care to have built at the public expense a number of palaestra, dressing rooms and bathing establishments for its own special use, and the mob got the benefit of the majority of these rather than the select few or well-to-do."[101]

The Athenian admiration for perfection of bodily form

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[97] Wilkins, Nat. Ed. in Greece. N. Y., 1911, p. 94. Cf. Newman, Hist. Sketches, p. 40.
[98] Cf. Hdt., V, 47.
[99] Aris. Pol., 1338b.
[100] Cf. Aris. Const. Athens, Transl. Poste. Lond., 1891, p. 66 ff.
[101] Xen. Pol. Ath., II, 10.

soon went to extremes. About the middle of the fifth century, B. C., much time came to be given over to training in the technique of athletics. Soon this resulted in the development of that one-sidedness criticized above.[102] Athletics became an end in itself. The Athenian conception of highest future bliss was life in a region where, "Some take their joy in horses, some in gymnasia, some in draughts."[103] The successful athlete was a hero in the eyes of his countrymen and as we noted above,[104] was even worshipped. Athletics, therefore, was an alluring profession to the ordinary Athenian. "It is true, the prize in the Olympian Games (was only) a crown made of branches of a wild olive; in the Isthmian, of branches of the pine tree; in the Nemean, of parsley; in the Pythian, of laurel; and with us in our Panhellenic Games, a jar of oil, made from the olive consecrated to Minerva."[105] The material reward received from the state, as we see, was insignificant; at the hands of his countrymen, the victor was more amply recommended. He was admitted to the city through a breach in the wall like a conqueror, statues were hewn in his honor, the front seat was assigned to him in the agora. In Sparta, on the contrary, the victor was simply rewarded by being given the right to fight next to the king.

The almost childish extravagance of judgment to which Athenian love of beauty of form led this people is well expressed in a war-song of Tyrtaeus: "It is a shame for an old man to lie slain in the front of battle, the body stripped and exposed . . . because an old man's body cannot be beautiful. But to the young all things are seemly as long as the goodly bloom of youth is on him. A sight for men to marvel at, for women to love while he

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102 Cf. p. 23.
103 Pindar, Fragment.
104 Cf. p. 40.
105 Luc. Anach. Transl. West. (in Br. poets; Pindar). Lond., 1810, p. 225.

liveth; beautiful, too, when fallen in the front of battle.[106] Here, their love for perfection of body and the desire for the admiration it called forth were appealed to as incentives to fearless fighting in the hardest quarters. There is anticipated recompense in the thought that the body will be an object of admiration even when dead. This incentive pales into childish insignificance when compared with the nobility of the motives usually proposed to any army before battle, for instance, duty, patriotism, etc.

If the Spartan system failed through over-severity, the Athenian system would, it seems, have been more effective had it enforced a little sterner control. It appears to be a platitude that "for the majority of men something more is needed than the simple charms of knowledge to constrain them to the steady and strenuous pursuit which is needful to achieve success."[107] The eagerness of the Athenian youth of the fifth and the succeeding centuries to "purchase" their knowledge from the Sophists, thus trying to escape the labor of ordinary schoolroom methods, urge us to this conclusion. Then, their worship of beauty arose from their identification of beauty and happiness with goodness. This, as we know, led to gross abuses. Excessive care of the body and the "love of the beautiful became the love of the sensual; and the pursuit of that which is most alluring lasts, even when goodness has lost her power to be held as such."[108] There was no thought of marital integrity in Athens, as we know.

There was still another danger and a danger against which the Athenian never learned to guard himself effectively. The great liberty their system gave to the individual made him an easy prey to philosophical and educational novelties. The name Sophist, in derivation and in early significance so honorable, came to mean a

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[106] Tyrtaeus, I.
[107] Wilkins, Nat. Ed. in Greece. N. Y., 1911, p. 96.
[108] Ibid., p. 97.

class of brilliant but, it would seem, shallow and unscrupulous men who, according to Aristophanes and others, were supposed to be able to teach the youth how to argue so as to justify anything. Eager for this short road to knowledge, the youth, he complained, refused to go to school and were, on the whole, too clever to accept anything on authority. They are characterized as a pale, sickly group of researchers on a large number of questions of no importance. A typical question mentioned by Aristophanes[109] is "how many times the length of its own foot does a flea jump?" Plato in his Apology tells, through the mouth of Socrates, of Evenus, the Parian, who bargained to teach the whole duties of a man and a citizen for five minae.[110] Aristophanes' statements are, no doubt, satirical exaggerations, but based upon fact; Plato's criticism of the Sophists can be taken more seriously. Turner says: "In the instruction which they gave they set no value upon objective truth; indeed, the ideal at which they aimed was the art of making the worse seem the better cause, and vice versa. Readiness of exposition and presentation of arguments in a specious manner were all that they pretended to teach."[111]

It would seem from the frequent changes in philosophical beliefs as well as from the testimony of St. Luke chronicling St. Paul's reproof of the Athenians,[112] Plato,[113] Aristophanes, and others, that the typical Athenian was a volatile, intellectually spasmodic man. Laurie says: "I think we must admit that the Greeks, and above all the Athenians, were light-minded and frivolous, easily swayed hither and thither, vain, of a shallow, because merely aesthetic, morality; talkative, untruthful, scheming, and pleasure-loving, with a strong tendency to licentiousness. Brilliant comrades, I should say they were doubtful friends."[114]

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109 Cf. Clouds, Transl. Hickie (in "Worlds Gt. Bk's.), N. Y., 1900, p. 299.
110 Apology, 20.
111 Hist. Phil. N. Y., 1903, p. 71.
112 Cf. Acts XVII, 19-23.
113 Cf. Plato, Prot., 318-320.
114 Pre-Christ, Ed. Lond., 1904, p. 217.

CHAPTER VI

ROME

Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus.
Orabunt caussus melius, caelique meatus
Describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.[115]

We pass from the city-state, Athens, to the old Roman kingdom with the same feeling one might have in rousing one's self from rapt attention to some world-famed symphony orchestra to find its notes dying into the fierce, yet meaning ejaculations and frantic gestures and tense earnestness of the stock-exchange. By nature the Roman was practical, constantly asking what is the value of this; for an Athenian to attach any utilitarian value to acquired knowledge was to cease to be an Athenian and to become a slave.[116] The Spartan and the Roman have more bonds of similarity but in the former we have the individual lost sight of in the larger unit, the state; in the latter, we have the personality of the individual dominant while all the individuals are united by a sacred bond, the common good.

What the Laws of Solon and of Lycurgus were to the Athenian and the Spartan, the Laws of the Twelve Tables were to the Roman. If the Greeks aimed at being "speakers of words and doers of deeds," the Roman ideal was a man possessing practical prudence, and fair dealing in his business relations. It may further be remarked that while the Greek idealized justice, the Roman legislated about it and practiced it.

Unlike the Spartan father and to a much greater extent than the Athenian, the Roman father exercised the

[115] Vergil, Aeneid. Vi. 847.

[116] Cf. Aristotle and the Anc. Ed. Ideals, Davidson. N. Y., 1892. Chap. IV. Cf. Aris. Pol. 1338 b. Plato, Rep. VII, 525 ff.

right of parent to care for his offspring's physical development and moral and intellectual training. The Paterfamilias had the power of life and death over his children. This would imply on the part of the child submission and obedience to the stage of servility, if necessary. The Laws of the Twelve Tables, Table IV, make provision for the immediate destruction of deformed offspring, in the first clause. The second gives to the father control over his children with right during his whole life to imprison, scourge, keep in rustic labor in chains, to sell or slay, even though they may be in the enjoyment of high state offices. The only release from this patria potestas was "three consecutive sales of the son by the father."[117] Table Five provides that the testament of the father shall be law as to all provisions concerning his property and tutelage thereof. Hence the child had no rights, personal or property, that the father was bound to respect. During the Old Roman Period, then, since this right of the father was effective in letter as in spirit, the father, and to a less extent the mother, determined the kind and the degree of education. But though this education was of an individual nature, the same ideal to produce the practical man of affairs prevailed.

There are few reliable sources of information for the Old Roman Period of Education. Our information must be drawn entirely as to primary sources from the "Twelve Tables" but there are, over and above, many references to prevalent practices during this period in the writings of the succeeding period; the content of their system is summed up in Cicero's words, "Eas artes quae efficiant ut usui civitati simus."[118] The training was sturdy according to the mos maiorum, and no Roman departed far from what his father and his father's father had done. The patriarchal system, as it might be called,

[117] Fragm. Laws of the Twelve Tables. Table IV.
[118] De Rep. I., 33.

necessitated by the patria potestas would make it possible to perpetuate ideals. While there was no state control, becomingness and "pietas" tended to conservatism. Pliny,[119] the younger, relates that, "By the institution of our ancestors, it was wisely provided that the young should learn from the old, not only by precept, but by their own observation, how they were to behave in that sphere in which they were one day themselves to move; while these in turn, transmitted the same mode of instruction to their children . . . the father of each child was his instructor upon these occasions, or if he had none, some person of years and dignity supplied the place of father."

As Roman education in the old days was essentially doing rather than acquiring theoretical knowledge in the modern sense, we may conclude that incentives to study were not sought out consciously. Imitation and the impulse to do must have kept all but the laziest alert, yet we know from references in works of the succeeding period that discipline was severely enforced.

It is a matter of some dispute, usually settled negatively, as to whether there were any schools (ludi) during this period. Reference is made indirectly to these schools by Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch.[120] Livy and Dionysius mention them in connection with the story of Virginia, who was seized as she came down into the forum, "for there were schools there" (Ibi namque in Tabernis litterarum ludi erant); Plutarch speaks of Romulus and Remus going to school at Gabii. However, we would hardly be justified in drawing an inference from the statement of Plutarch since in another passage the same writer expressly states that Spurius Carvilius was the first to open a school at Rome. A compromise is sometimes made by some who think there were ludi in Rome before 250 B. C., but that

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[119] Epistulae, VIII, 14.
[120] Plut. Romulus VI. Cf. Livy III, 44; Dionysius, XI, 24.

Spurius Carvilius was the first one to charge fees. It is, however, an open question leaning most often to the opinion that there were no schools, since, as the upholders of the opinion remark, "as long as no national literature existed, there could be no demand for schools in which it was taught."[121]

The Greek had his multitude of gods, but the Roman, until he came under Greek influence, built no temple and chiseled no god. The centre of his devotion was the family hearth and his libations were poured out to the Penates who cared for the larder and to the Lares who, being the spirits of the departed of the same family, would have special interest in its perpetuity and prosperity. Thus religion, no less than education and law, tended to weld closely together the different members of the family. The Roman matron in the older period stands for almost all the virtues that we deem noblest and best in woman, and the Roman child trained under the eye of such a mother become vir, honestus et prudens.

But the conservatism of the Roman gradually yielded to external influences, principally Hellenism, but not Hellenism in its day of glory for, as Mommsen says, in substance, the Athens which Rome came to know was no more the Athens of Sophocles and Plato. The tide of Hellenism had been gradually rising over Roman land. Increasing commerce with the Greeks of Magna Graecia, Sicily and the Mediterranean Islands had made the Greek Language a sort of lingua media of commercial relations. Greek freedmen or slaves came to be employed in the ludi and a conversational knowledge of Greek became a companion, on the curriculum, of the Twelve Tables. About 250 B. C., Livius Andronicus translated the Odyssey into Latin, thus making a beginning of Latin literature while intensifying the tide of Hellenism.

The Roman, however, though conquered by Greek cul-

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[121] Wilkins, "Rom. Ed.," Camb., 1905, p. 9.

ture, never became a good Greek, for, to quote Laurie, "He remained to the last prosaic and practical." In the Art of Poetry, Horace contrasts unfavorably the practical turn of the Roman mind with the aesthetic bent of the Greek. "To the Greeks the muse has given genius, to the Greeks ambitious of nothing but praise, the power to speak with eloquence. The boys of Rome learn by long calculation to divide a pound into a hundred parts. 'Let Albinus' son tell me what remains if from five ounces one is taken.' If you have been able to answer 'the third of a pound,' well done; you will be able to look after your estate. Add an ounce, what is the sum? 'Half a pound.' When we have imbued their minds with the canker and care of gain, do we hope that they will compose poems worthy of preservation, worthy of being pressed in cases of cypress?"

> Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo
> Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
> Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
> Discunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
> Filius Albini; si de quincunce remota est
> Uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse. Triens. Eu!
> Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?
> Semis. At haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
> Quum semel imbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
> Posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?[122]

It was, of course, not until a century later that the Roman schools became thoroughly Hellenized. The conquest of Greece led to the introduction of Greek ideals and ideas and such an alarming change did this effect that a decree of the senate, 161 B. C., forbade Greek Philosophers and Rhetoricians to be any longer tolerated in Rome. "In the consulship of Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala, the praeter Marcus Pomponius moved the senate that an act be passed respecting Philosophers and Rhetoricians. In this matter they decreed as follows: 'It shall be lawful for M. Pomponius,

[122] Ep. ad Piso, 325 et seq.

the praetor, to take such measures and make such provisions as the good of the republic and the duty of his office require, that no Philosophers or Rhetoricians be suffered at Rome.'

"After some interval, the censor Cnaeus Domitius Aenobarbus and Lucius Lucinius Crassus issued the following edict upon the subject: 'It is reported to us that certain persons have instituted a new kind of discipline; that our youth resort to their schools; that they have assumed the title of Latin Rhetoricians; and that young men waste their time there for whole days together. Our ancestors have ordained what instruction it is fitting their children should receive, and what schools they should attend. These novelties, contrary to the instructions of our ancestors, we neither approve nor do they seem to us good. Therefore it appears to be our duty that we should notify our judgment both to those who keep such schools and those who are in the practice of frequenting them, that they meet our disapprobation.' "[123] This decree, while noteworthy as exhibiting the great strides Hellenism was making, by no means marks a step in its retrogression.

We must now look into these Hellenized schools to see what incentives to study were employed. We note at once that wherever we find mention made of a teacher in any primary source he is almost always sure to be a lover of the rod. In other words, at least in the ludi, the boy led an uneasy life. We have proof of the severe discipline of the Roman school from both brush and pen. A mural decoration at Pompeii shows a Roman boy receiving the scutica on his bare back. Two of his fellows hold him imprisoned while the teacher, evidently, administers the flogging. A graffito from the walls of the palace of the Caesars shows an ass tied to a post. The mind is aided in its interpretation of the significance by the

[123] Suetonius, De. Rhet., I.

legend appended in the words of the Roman schoolboy: "Labor on, little ass, just as I have labored, and may it be of profit to you." In fact, wherever we meet the Roman teacher we are prepared to meet harshness and force. Horace's master, Orbilius, who took such pains to impress old Laevius' verses with his ferrule that they shall never be forgotten is, we judge, just one of many.[124]

> Non equidem insector, delendave carmina Laevi
> Esse reor, memini quae plagosum mini parvo
> Orbilium dictare.

Suetonius speaks of the same Orbilius having been a soldier and after the war, it would seem, he returned to his studies, became a praeceptor and later came to Rome in this capacity. He also pays the tribute of his scorn to his sour temper. Not only Horace and Suetonius but Domitius Marsus make mention of this master's rod: "Si quos Orbilius Ferula scutiaque cecidit."*

But Plautus' Bacchides is one of the earliest evidences extant of the severity of the Roman master. He puts into the mouth of Lydus, addressing Philo, the following, in substance: First, he reminds him that for the first twenty years of his (Philo's) life he had not even this much liberty, to move his foot out of the house even a finger's length away from his tutor. "Before the rising of the sun had you not come to school for exercise, no small punishment would you have had at the hands of the master of the school. . . . Then when from the Hippodrome and school of exercise you had returned home, clad in your belted frock, upon a stool of your master would you sit; and there when you were reading your book, if you made a mistake in a single syllable, your skin would be made as spotted as your nurse's gown. . . ." Philo.—"The manners, Lydus, now are altered." Lyd.—"That for my part I know well. For formerly a man used to re-

[124] Horace, Ep., II., I, 70.
* Suetonius, De Gram., IX.

ceive public honors by the votes of the people before he ceased to be obedient to one appointed tutor. But nowadays, before he is seven years old, if you touch a boy with your hand, at once the boy breaks the tutor's head with his tablet. When you go to complain to the father, thus says the father to the child: 'Be you my own dear boy since you can defend yourself from an injury.' The tutor then is called for—'Hello! you old good-for-nothing, don't you be touching the child for the reason that he has behaved badly.' "[125]

Plautus probably wrote about 200 B. C. or earlier. We see, then, that even at that date the authority of the Greek pedagogue, usually a slave, was not respected by the Roman child, but it would scarcely be correct, however, to infer that all tutors were treated thus badly, more especially since almost all the writers from Plautus to Juvenal, when reference is made to the school, dwell upon its severity. Juvenal speaks of leaving school as withdrawing the hand from the rod.[126]

Yet we infer that in some cases at least there was a striking contrast between the old severe discipline of the Roman father and the Roman mother and the discipline of the schools. Tacitus in his Dialogue concerning Oratory, the scene of which is laid in the year 75 A. D., draws a striking contrast between the rigid discipline of the older period when care was taken that all was done with propriety consuetudine maiorum nostrorum, when the diversions even of the children were conducted with reserve and sanctity of manners, and the laxer methods of the new. "Thus it was that Cornelia, the mother of the Gracci, superintended the education of her illustrious issue. It was thus that Aurelia trained up Julius Caesar and thus Atia formed Augustus." He then bemoans the fact that at that day the child was committed to the

[125] Plaut. Bacch, Act III., Scene III.
[126] Juv. I, 15. "Et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus."

care of a Greek chamber-maid and a slave or two and that throughout the house no one cares what he says or does in his presence and, speaking of the praeceptors, themselves, he says, "For it is not by establishing a strict discipline, or by giving proofs of their genius that this order of men gain pupils, but by fawning and flattery."[127]

The value of criticism in keeping one on the alert is pointed out by Tacitus in another paragraph,—"For you are aware that a solid and lasting reputation of eloquence must be acquired by the censure of our enemies as well as by the applause of our friends; or rather, indeed, it is from the former that it derives its surest and most unquestioned strength and firmness."[128]

Unlike the Greek custom of awarding prizes, the Roman seldom offered any reward but that of praise or the negative reward of freedom from punishment. It is related, however, that Verrius Flaccus, a freedman, distinguished himself by a new mode of teaching; for it was his practice to exercise the wits of his scholars, by encouraging emulation among them, not only proposing the subjects on which they were to write, but offering rewards for those who were successful in the contest. "These consisted of some ancient, handsome or rare book."[129] This is almost a solitary instance of the awarding of prizes.

Quintilian is the first Roman to give a scientific or analytic exposition of method in education from the study of individual variations in children. He wrote, of course, only on the education of the orator, but in those days every Roman aimed at acquiring oratorical skill. He advises a careful study of each boy to discover his natural

[127] Tacitus, Dialog. De Oratoribus, 28-29.
[128] Ibid., 34. "Scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subsellis parari quam in suis; inde quin immo constantius sargere, ibi fidelis corroborari."
[129] Suet., De Gram., 17.

aptitudes and deficiencies. When a tutor has advanced this far, he should study the child's mind how it is best managed. "Some boys are indolent and need stimulating; some are restive, if commanded; fear restrains some but unnerves others." Hence the danger of trying to cast all in the same mould. He insists upon the need of forming good habits so that nothing be done too eagerly, dishonestly and without self-control. But he disapproves of corporal punishment "first, because it is a disgrace and a punishment for slaves, and in reality (as will be evident if you imagine the age changed) an affront; secondly, because, if a boy's disposition be so abject as not to be amended by reproof, he will be hardened like the worst of slaves even to stripes. . . . At present the negligence of pedagogues seems to be made amends for in such a way that boys are not obliged to do what is right but are punished whenever they have not done it."[130]

An effective way of inculcating good habits, as suggested by Horace, is the method of opposite example, or pointing out the effect of the opposite course in the persons with whom the boy came in contact; or the method of example, that is pointing out some one in whom the desired virtue was dominant.[131]

Some of the most scathing censures of flogging in the field of Latin literature are found in the Epigrams of Martial. Very early in the morning before the crested cocks had broken silence, he complains, the roar of the savage scoldings and scourge begins, "nor is the noise greater in the ampitheatre when the conquering gladiator is applauded by his partisans."[132] In another epigram he urges the master "to be indulgent to your simple scholars, if you would have many a long-haired youth resort to your lectures, and the class seated round your critical table love you. . . . The days are bright, and glow under

[130] Quint. Inst. of Orat., I, III, 14.
[131] Cf. Sat. I, 4, 103.
[132] Epigrams IX, LXVIII.

the flaming constellations of the Lion, and fervid July is ripening the teeming harvest. Let the Scythian scourge with its formidable thongs, such as flogged Marsyas of Celaenae, and the terrible cane, the schoolmaster's sceptre, be laid aside, and sleep until the Ides of October."[133]

The list of advocates of leniency is somewhat extended. We will only mention Cato in De Liberis Educandis, not extant, but containing, as we know, denunciations of those who strike women and children, Cicero, Seneca and Flaccus. Still, severity continued. But a milder yet more irresistible influence than that of the Pagan poet or the Pagan moralist was soon to make itself felt.

[133] Epigrams, Mart. X. LXII.

CHAPTER VII

THE JEWISH PEOPLE

"And you shall be to me a priestly kingdom and a holy nation." Ex. XIX, 6.

At the same time that the Greeks were centering their educational endeavor uninterruptedly upon future field service, as in the case of Sparta; upon preparation for living becomingly and modestly from their viewpoint, as in the Athenian city-state; or, again, upon preparing the boy to be a practical man of affairs, as in Rome; another nation, though vastly inferior in those pursuits that make for culture, had an infinitely higher ideal in its training. This ideal was obedience to the behests of a supreme Law-giver, Who was ever personally near them, Who sent them chosen leaders, Whose audible voice was even heard at times by a multitude of people, but Who chose usually to give His commands indirectly through high-priest or prophet. This people was the chosen Hebrew nation. The ideal man with this people was he who most closely followed the Law whether written or unwritten.

We know, however, that they failed by following the letter rather than the spirit of the Law and in being so wedded to the Promise that they rejected Him Who was the Fulfillment of the Promise. They were a sturdy race, indeed, capable of great personal sacrifice, but incapable of growth, because shackled by a Law which was meant to be only directive but which, in the extreme liberal interpretation which they gave it, became a prison house.

"Together with the Classical Greeks and Romans, the Jewish People form the celebrated historical triad universally recognized as the source of all great civilizations."[134] Unlike the Greeks and the Romans, the Jews, as we know, had a well-defined monotheistic religion. The predominant aim in all their education was to learn to

[134] Dubnow, Jewish Hist. Phila., 1903, p. 8.

practice intelligently the mandates of the Supreme Lawgiver and to perpetuate those mandates. Jehovah was at one and the same time their earthly King and their heavenly reward to be. His mandates formed the norm of action alike on the battlefield, in their agricultural pursuits, in the school and in the home. He was, with them, and rightly so, the Perfect, the All-powerful, the Holy-one.

With the later Romans and the Greeks it was quite different. They did not esteem their gods as perfect, but rather, partial, contentious, and jealous of men; not all-powerful, since they were subject to the fates; and, certainly, not holy.

It is easy to see, then, that the ideal in Jewish education was much higher than in the Pagan countries studied, and if they fell far below their ideal, they never for any appreciable period of time, as a nation, lost sight entirely of their spiritual inheritance. At times, however, they had to be brought back to a sense of duty by very stringent means. If the Greeks were constantly seeking for the new, the Jews held on with stubborn tenacity to the old. Fearful lest they might lose sight of the Law, they spent the major portion of their time in teaching and explaining it. They built, as it has been said, a fence about the Law. "Blessed is the man that feareth the Eternal, that delighteth greatly in His commandments. This is the Hebrew notion of felicity; and pursued with passion and tenacity, this notion would not let the Hebrew rest till, as is well known, he had at last got out of the Law a network of prescriptions to entrap his whole life, to govern every moment of it, every impulse, every action."[135]

As with the Romans, the earliest school of the Hebrews was the home.[136] The first distinctive schools seem to

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[135] Arnold, Culture and Anarchy. Lond., 1875, p. 131.
[136] Cf. Gen. XVIII, 19.

date from some time after the return from the Babylonian Captivity, 536 B. C. Emanuel Deutsch says, "Eighty years before Christ schools flourished throughout the length and breadth of the land; education had been made compulsory. While there is not a single word for school to be found before the Captivity. . . .[137] The prophets, however, who preached to the people, instituted schools or confraternities, as we know, where was taught the Law in its purity, but these were hardly schools in the common acceptation of the term.

The discipline of the home was rigid, if not severe. In the Pre-Mosaic period, during the formative years of the race, in common with the custom of most nomadic tribes, it would seem that the head of the "expanded" family was an arbitrary sovereign.[138] Moses, while restricting the abuse of parental authority, yet sanctions that the death penalty be pronounced against a stubborn and unruly son. This could only take place after a certain legal procedure, namely, accusation before the people, where, it would seem, both parent and child had a hearing. "If a man have a stubborn and unruly son, who will not hear the commandments of his father and mother, and being corrected slighteth obedience, they will take him and bring him to the ancients of the city, and to the gate of judgment, and shall say to them: 'This our son is rebellious and stubborn, he slighteth hearing our admonitions, he giveth himself to reveling, and to debauchery and banqueting. The people of the city shall stone him and he shall die.' "[139] Again, in Exodus, we read: "He that striketh his father or mother shall be put to death,"[140] and "He that curseth his father or mother shall die the death."[141] Yet Ederscheim thinks the fact that there are

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137 Lit. Remains of Em. Deutsch. N. Y., 1874, p. 23.
138 (For Mosaic Times) cf. Gen. XXII; Judges XII, 34 ff.
139 Deut. XXI, 18-21.
140 Ex. XXI, 15.
141 Ex. XXI, 17; Cf. Lev. XX, 9.

no fewer than nine different words in the Old Testament each designating a different stage of life of the child is an evidence of the loving anxiety with which its growth was marked and of the tender bond which knit together the Jewish parents and their children, and points to the pride and fond hopes of the parent in the child.[142] It is hard to believe, however, that tenderness and marked severity would be found normally in the same home.

The principal content of Hebrew education before the Babylonian Captivity was a knowledge of the Law;[143] after the Captivity and the organization of schools, the primary emphasis was always on the Law. To this effect is the testimony of Josephus Flavius, who says: "And, indeed, the greatest part of mankind are so far from living according to their own laws, that they hardly know them; but when they have sinned they learn from others that they have trespassed the law. . . . But for our people, if anybody do but ask any one of them about the laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately, as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, and of our having them, as it were, engraven on our souls."[144]

The direct injunction to study and obey the commandments of God is repeated over and over in the Old Testament with the declaration of a blessing accompanying obedience, and a curse following disobedience. Knowledge would have to precede practice, hence the further command: "Lay up these words in your hearts and minds, and hang them for a sign on your hands, and place them between your eyes. Teach your children that they meditate on them, when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest on the way, and when thou liest down and

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[142] Sketches of Jew. Soc. Life. Lond. (No date), p. 103.

[143] Cf. Deut., XVII, 18; Jos., I, 8; Exod., XXIV, 12; Deut., I, 5; Philo, Legat ad Caium, 16.

[144] Contra Ap., II, 19.

riseth up. Thou shalt write them upon the posts and doors of thy house."[145] Again, "Forget not the words that thy eyes have seen and let them not go out of thy heart all the days of thy life. Thou shalt teach them to thy sons and to thy grandsons."[146] The command is reiterated in a succeeding chapter, "And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thy heart; and thou shalt teach them to thy children . . . and thou shalt write them in the entry and on the doors of thy house."[147]

The priests and the Levites, as we know, were for a long time the only instructors outside the home.[148] From the time of Roboam until about the fourth century B. C. Prophets were raised up to instruct the people. In Deuteronomy we read that "Moses wrote the Law and delivered it to the priests and sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and to all the ancients of Israel."[149] But the time will come when "they shall teach no more everyone his neighbor, and everyone his brother, saying: 'Know the Lord; for all shall know Me from the least of them even to the greatest' saith the Lord."[150] This was a prophetic vision of the time when the Law would be perfected by the fulfilment of the Promise. But meanwhile, during the period of waiting, "it was invariably the custom, as it was desirable on other days also, but especially on the seventh day . . . to discuss matters of philosophy, the rulers of the people beginning the explanation, and teaching the multitude what they ought to do and to say, and the populace listening so as to improve in virtue, and being much better in their moral character and in their conduct through life; in accordance to which custom, even to this day the Jews hold their philosophical discussions on the seventh day. . . ."[151] In

145 Deut., XI, 18-20.
146 Deut., IV, 9.
147 Deut., VI, 6-9.
148 Cf. below.
149 Deut., XXXI, 9; Cf. Jer., II, 8; Mal., II, 7; Par., XVII, 7.
150 Jer., XXXI, 34.
151 Philo, De vita Moysis, III, 27.

this way the Jewish parents received their instruction in the Law and its accepted interpretation and they in their turn taught their children.

We cannot help but notice that throughout the Old Testament, whenever there is a direct command to obey the Law, there is appended normally a precept to teach also the substance of the command to the children. The parent was, then, the divinely appointed teacher of the child. Repeatedly in Deuteronomy, Leviticus, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs and Wisdom, comes the injunction, "Keep my commandments," and "teach them to thy children.[152]

To the faithful one there is insured abundance of grain and wine, peace in his family and victory over enemies; to the one who shall despise and condemn the Laws, poverty, sickness, dearth of fecundity in his fields, and subjection to his political enemies.

These two injunctions, keep my commandments and teach them to your children, were then the directives in early Hebrew education. The content of education besides the Law was perhaps only writing and a little arithmetic. Hyvernat is of the opinion that education "in the pre-exilic times was mostly oral, either by parents or some near relatives, in some cases by special and regular tutors."[153] The teacher-parent had the right and the duty of chastisement. Justification for corporal punishment from the Old Testament is, indeed, not hard to find: "He that spareth the rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him correcteth him betimes."[154] "Withhold not correction from a child; for if thou strike him with a rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with a rod and deliver his soul from hell."[155] "The rod and reproof bring wisdom;

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[152] Cf. Lev., XXVI; Deut., VI, 7-11; VIII, 1-2; XI, 27; XII, 28-32; Eccli., XXXII, 28; Eccle., XII, 13.

[153] Oriental Schools. Wash., 1901, p. 287.

[154] Prov., XIII, 24.

[155] Prov., XXIII, 13-14.

but the child that is left to his own will bringeth his mother to shame."[156] "He that loveth his son frequently chastiseth him. . . ."[157]

Yet it would seem that there was no severity for severity's sake but for correction's sake and that the correction was not so severe as to harden or to brutalize. In this respect the Jewish system differed essentially from the Spartan, which aimed primarily at teaching endurance. The whole life of the Jewish father and the Jewish mother, dominated as it was meant to be by spiritual ideals, and responsive, let us hope, in the main, to their knowledge of divine accountability for all their actions, would not be likely to stray far from the norm.

Besides, the declaration of future rewards in store for the observers of the Law, the numerous injunctions to honor and obey parents, to love wisdom, furnished motives for intelligent labor wholly wanting to the Greek or the Roman. Then, the fact that the earliest sensations were of phylactery, family prayers, various domestic rites, festivals with their splendid object lessons,—all helped to clear the way so as to lessen the difficulty of learning the Law through feelings of reverence and desirable curiosity previously aroused.[158]

The honor, respect and obedience due to parents must have furnished both a motive and an end. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thou mayst be long-lived upon the land which the Lord thy God will give thee,"[159] contains both an injunction and a declaration of benefits attached to the observance of the injunction. "Honor thy father and thy mother as the Lord, thy God hath commanded thee. That thou mayst live a long time, and it may be well with thee in the land, which the Lord thy God

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156 Prov., XIX, 15.
157 Eccli., XXX, 1; Cf. Prov., XXII, 15.
158 Cf. Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus, Vol. I, N. Y., 1904, p. 229.
159 Exod., XX, 12.

will give thee.''[160] Again, a reiteration of the command with the promise of not only longevity, but prosperity attached to it. The promise attached to the observance of this command must have been a powerful incentive to the child to obedience. The parental and the teaching authority were, as we noted above, vested in one and the same person, which fact tended to intensify the effect.

But aside from these incentives was the love of wisdom for its own sake, so highly esteemed in Jewish writings and Jewish traditions. These traditions, operative it would seem, during the whole range of Jewish education, will be discussed in connection with the second period.

THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

The strain of the Captivity, the necessity it put the Jews under of worshipping God without the splendors of the temple of Jerusalem, etc., had begotten a racial subjectivism which manifested itself in almost fanatic zeal for the Law to the extreme point of literal interpretation or beyond. The Jews, henceforth, considered themselves to be the only people of the One True God and discriminated carefully against all others. From this time begins the period of extreme exclusiveness.[162] The return from the Captivity marks, then, a period of religious enthusiasm evidenced by the rebuilding of the temple, added zeal for the teaching of the Law, and the rise of a special teaching class outside the priestly class, namely, the Soferim or Scribe. These scribes ''enumerated'' not merely the precepts, but the words, letters, the signs of the scripture, thereby guarding it from all future interpolations and corruptions. . . . They had to instruct the people, to preach in the synagogues, to teach in the

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[160] Deut., VI, 16.
[162] Cf. Milman, Hist. of the Jews. N. Y., 1893, Vol. I, p. 468.

schools.[163] Hyvernat, commenting upon the generally accepted fact that schools for children were a post-exilic institution, thinks they may have been borrowed from the Chaldeans.[164] But the first mention of a school proper is made by Simon ben Shetach, president of the Sanhedrin. He decreed that all children should receive instruction in Holy Scripture and tradition and for this purpose public schools should be established everywhere.[165] This was only in the first century before Christ.

The disciplinary means in these schools and in their later development would seem to have been, first, national and religious zeal, which were always linked, if not one, in the Jewish mind; secondly, idealization of the transcendent value of wisdom. No doubt the rod was never entirely relegated.

During the period under discussion, there arose, side by side with the scribe, a "guild," as it has been called, of Wise Men who taught but who were in no way associated with the Scribe school.[166]

The pedagogic wisdom included in the Sacred Books, Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, inculcates, in great measure, a love of wisdom for the practical advantages in store for the wise man. In the Book of Proverbs, we read: "He that understandeth shall possess governments."[167] "But he that shall hear Me shall rest without terror, and shall enjoy abundance, without fear of evils."[168] Besides the numerous other exhortations to hear instruction and get wisdom and prudence for their practical advantages, wisdom is to be acquired also by the time-honored rod for "The rod and reproof bring wisdom, but the child that is left to his own will bringeth his mother to

163 Deutsch, Lit. Rem. N. Y., 1874, p. 20.
164 Cf. Oriental Schools, Wash., 1901, p. 287.
165 Jer. Kethuboth, VIII, 32c.
166 Cf. Prov. XXII, 17; XIII, 14; Eccle., XII, 11ff.
167 Prov., I, 5; Cf. I, 24-30.
168 Prov., I, 33.

shame.'"[169] But the rod was not to be employed without discrimination and caution for "a reproof availeth more with a wise man than a hundred stripes with a fool." (Auth. version) or "A rebuke given by a wise man availeth more than a hundred stripes of a fool."[170] (from the Hebrew.)

Though worldly gain is put forward as an incentive for those who seek wisdom unwillingly and for the idle and the scorner of wisdom; such, the hope of worldly gain should constrain to pursue her; yet, the inspired writer meant to make wisdom so attractive that it would be pursued ordinarily for its own sake. Pursue wisdom "That grace may be added to thy head and a chain of gold to thy neck."[171] "Her ways are beautiful ways and her paths are peaceable."[171a] For wisdom is better than all most precious things; and whatsoever may be desired cannot be compared to it."[172] Indeed, the praise of wisdom is repeated in almost every chapter of Proverbs and the hearing and later reading of these sapiential sayings must have been a fruitful source of inspiration for the Hebrew child's endeavor.

In Ecclesiastes, we find a less glorious halo on the head of wisdom. While it is above and beyond all other good in value, yet all things are but vanity. "And I proposed to myself to seek and search out wisely concerning all things that are done under the sun. This painful occupation hath God given to the children of men to be exercised therein. . . . I have spoken in my heart, saying: "Behold, I am become great, and have gone beyond all in wisdom; and my mind hath contemplated many things wisely," but, he adds, "in much wisdom there is much indigna-

[169] Prov., XXIX, 15; Cf. XIII, 24; XII, 1; XXIII, 13.
[170] Prov., XVII, 10.
[171] Prov., I, 9.
[171a] Prov., III, 17.
[172] Prov., VIII, 11; Cf. VIII, 19; XVI, 16.

tion: and he that addeth knowledge, addeth also labor."[173] In the following chapter, wisdom is extolled in comparison with folly. "And I saw that wisdom excelled folly, as much as light differeth from darkness. The eyes of the wise man are in his head; the fool walketh in darkness."[174] Yet he is depressed by the thought that both alike must die. In the second half of the Book, wisdom gains more praise. "For as wisdom is a defense, so money is a defense, but learning and wisdom excel in this that they give life to him that possesseth them."[175]

Again, in the Book of Wisdom, the inspired writer can scarcely extol her enough. His words roll on in fertile profusion and each verse, though seemingly reaching the summit of praise, is eclipsed by another more all-embracing. She is personified as possessing all the qualities we deem most honorable and most exalted.[176] "For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom. For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the orders of the stars; being compared with light she is found before it. For after this cometh night but no evil can overcome wisdom."[177]

In speaking of the education of the Spartan as laid down by Lycurgus, Laurie notes as one of its evident short-comings that it was a moulding from without.[178] With the Hebrew child, having before his mind this justly high estimate of the value of wisdom, the entire resources of his intellectual and moral nature could not but be stirred to responsive action. It was thus pre-eminently a moulding form within.

The writer of Ecclesiasticus lays down as his express purpose to write in the Book the doctrine of wisdom and

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173 Eccle., I, 13-18.
174 Eccle., II, 13-14.
175 Eccle., VII, 13; Cf. VII, 20; IX, 17; X, 1-2.
176 Cf. Wisd., VII, 22-24.
177 Wisd., VII, 29-30.
178 Cf. Prechrist. Ed. Lond., 1904, p. 219.

instruction.[179] The Book, then, as we would expect, is a storehouse of pedagogical precepts. In the first chapter, the fear of God is called the "beginning of wisdom," "the religiousness of knowledge," "the fullness of wisdom," "the crown of wisdom." Chapter six gives the exhortation: "My son, from thy youth up receive instruction and even to thy grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom."[180] He councils, "Put thy feet into her fetters and thy neck into her chains. Come to her with all thy mind. . . . If thou wilt incline thy ear thou shalt receive instruction; and if thou wilt love to hear thou shalt be wise. Stand in the multitude of ancients that are wise, and join thyself from thy heart to their wisdom that thou mayst hear every discourse of God, and the sayings of praise may not escape thee. And if thou see a man of understanding, go to him early in the morning, and let thy feet wear the steps of his door."[181] Again, "A man of sense will praise every wise word that he hears and will apply it to himself."[182]

The task of chastisement is set forth in this book side by side with the duty of parental instruction and the danger of neglecting this duty. But most of the Book is taken up with the praise of wisdom and exhortations to seek her above all other treasures.

All through the Sapiential Books, the study of which formed a fair portion of available literature, the injunction to be wise, not "first and above all others distinguished," was the ideal. The prophets, the Wise Men, the Scribes, the parents,—all who had to do directly or indirectly with the education of the child, had in mind, or purposed to have, the desire to instill into him a deep religious consciousness, a sense of moral worth and dignity, an appreciation of the glorious mission of the race, which

[179] Cf. Eccli., L, 29.
[180] Eccli., VI, 18.
[181] Eccli., VI, 25-37.
[182] Eccli., XXI, 18.

mission was to perpetuate the knowledge of the One God with the history of His selective dispensations toward them.

We are then led to think that the sense of spiritual responsibility, the appreciation of the exalted mission of the race, the glorification of wisdom by her sages, the injunction to love and respect parents with its accompanying declaration, the heavenly reward in store for the observers of the law, were on the whole the only incentives to study and that the rod was perhaps not as frequently used as might be expected from its somewhat frequent mention.

How far Greek influence was felt in the school after the conquest of Alexander, it is not easy to determine. Two passages in Holy Writ indicate that there were at least some gymnasia ephebeum established shortly before the Machabean Revolt. These references with all they call up of contests, rewards, etc., characteristic of the Greek gymnasium, furnish the only suggestion of emulation in the whole range of Hebrew education before Talmudic times.

In the First Book of the Machabees we read that some Jews persuaded others to go and make a covenant with the heathens. "And some of the people determined to do this, and went to the king; and he gave them license to do after the ordinance of the heathen. And they built a place of exercise in Jerusalem according to the laws of the nation."[183] Later on to the same effect, we are told that Jason "went to the king promising him three hundred and sixty talents of silver, and out of other resources fourscore talents. Besides this, he promised also a hundred and fifty talents more, if he might have license to set up a place of exercise, and a place for youth. . . . Which when the king had granted and he had gotten the rule into his own hands, forthwith he began

[183] I Mac., I, 14ff.

to bring over his countrymen to the fashion of the heathen . . . for he had the boldness to set up under the castle a place of exercise."[184]

The deplorable effect of these gymnasia was soon felt, "In so much that the priests were not now occupied about offices of the altar, but despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifice, hastened to be partakers of the games, and of the unlawful allowances thereof, and of the exercise of the discus."[185]

However, it is certain that Greek influence was never universal. The fact that the Jews always bore the Greek yoke grudgingly would argue against any very general adoption of Greek methods. Mathathias when dying enjoined upon his sons: "Now, therefore, Oh my sons, be ye zealous for the Law and give your lives for the covenant of your fathers."[186] When the temple had been defiled[187] and the synagogues throughout the land destroyed, a revolt lead by the sons of Mathathias, resulted, as we know, in the casting off of the Greek yoke. If the Jew was to maintain his spiritual inheritance, it was impossible for him to amalgamate with the Hellene, especially of this period when most of the old virility had died out. It was a clash between two diametrically opposed theories, one aiming at Pagan aestheticism simply; the other, transcendently ethical: between Jehovah on one side and Zeus on the other. The contrast between Greek and Jewish ideals is dwelt upon by Josephus. One, as he well says, makes religion only a part of virtue, but Moses makes all virtues a part of religion. "The reason why the constitution of this legislation was ever better directed to the utility of all than any other legislations were, is this, that Moses did not make religion a part of virtue, but he saw and he ordained other virtues to be parts of religion; I

[184] II Mac., IV, 8ff.
[185] II Mac., IV, 14.
[186] I Mac., II, 50.
[187] I Mac., I, 49-62; Jos. Ant., XII, 5, 4.

mean justice, fortitude, and temperance, and a universal agreement of the members of the community with one another; for all our actions and studies and all our words (in Moses's settlement) have a reference to piety towards God.''[188]

Here we have expressed the fundamental difference between Greek ''becomingness'' and Hebrew ''piety.'' While for some time, it seems, many of the Jews were blinded by the shimmer of Greek culture, outraged national and religious feeling soon asserted itself and the pendulum of Hellenism traced a recessive arc. Moreover, during the century and a quarter of Greek supremacy the lamp of instruction was kept alive in the vast majority of Hebrew homes, as Deutsch says, and we must think, too, that the discipline of the home was maintained in full vigor by such splendid types of Jewish women as the mother of the seven sons spoken of in the Second Book of the Machabees and myriads of others, who, if less renowned, were none the less Jewish mothers, and therefore zealous for the Law.

AFTER THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

After the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple (70 A. D.), a period of feverish educational activity ensued. Wherever the Jew was up to this time, except during the short period of the Babylonian Captivity and, then, there was no parallel since at that time he had the Prophets with him to instruct and console him, his mind could ever turn to the ''Holy city with its Temple dedicated to the Most High God.''[189] But with the fall of the city and the destruction of the temple, the Jews realized that they had now only one hope of preserving their nationality and their religion. This was by perpetuating the mandates of Jehovah, together with the

[188] Contra Ap. Transl. Whiston, Bk. II, p. 815.
[189] Philo, In Flaccum (Ed. Francf.), p. 971.

splendid narrative of His selective dispensation for them, from generation to generation of their children. Their nationality and their religion were one, as we know, just as were education and religious instruction almost synonymous.

Despite the decree of Simon ben Shetach mentioned above[190] and the opinion of Deutsch[191] to the contrary, we can find no evidence that schools were numerous in Judaea up to about this time. But Josua ben Gamla, foreseeing, no doubt, the danger threatening the nation (64 A. D.), decreed that schools be provided in every town for children over five years old.[192] About this time, also, that vast body of what we might term tradition which had grown up gradually and which embodied the earliest recollections of this people, together with the interpretation of the Law in general and in special cases, came to be collected and embodied in the Talmud.

According to the Talmud, these schools, provided for by Josua ben Gamla, spread with almost incredible rapidity, so much so that though we find in the Talmud that "Jerusalem was destroyed because schools and school children ceased to be there,"[193] later "They searched from Dan to Beersheba, and found not an illiterate person; from Gaboth unto Antiphorus and could discover neither male nor female who was not acquainted with the laws of the ritual and ceremonial observances."[194] The number of children in attendance at a single school is astonishing. Gamaliel said: "A thousand school children were in my father's house, and all were instructed in the law and the Greek language."[195]

The content of Hebrew education of the Talmudic period was a study of the Bible from the time the child

[190] Cf. p. 63.
[191] Cf. p. 57.
[192] B. B., 21a.
[193] Shab., 119b.
[194] Sanh., 94b.
[195] Baba Kama, 83a.

started to school until he was about ten years old. From this time five years more were devoted to the study of the Mishna and the remainder of his school life was given over to the study of the Gemarah.[196] The ordinary school age would seem to have been about six.[197]

An injunction from the Talmud reveals educational values as appraised by the Jewish mind. "As soon as the child begins to speak, the father should teach him to say in Hebrew, "The Law which Moses commanded us is the heritage of the congregation of Jacob," meaning, it would seem, to emphasize the fact that it was to the Jewish people and to them in contradistinction to all others that God gave the Law. Thus the first thing taught consciously was an appreciation of national preference and distinction. At the same time he was to be taught, "Hear, O Israel, the Eternal Our God is One God,"[198] the introduction to the Decalogue. The second point of emphasis was upon reverence towards the God Who had chosen this people.

The duty of the father to have his son instructed is stated as forcibly as in Deuteronomy and the Sapiential Books. "It is incumbent on the father to instruct his son,"[199] and "it is not permitted to live in a place where there is neither school nor schoolmaster."[200] The mother's duty in this regard is especially noted. The Talmud says, in substance, that knowledge of the Law can be looked for only in those that have sucked it in at their mother's breast.[201]

The means of maintaining attention in the schools, as prescribed in the Talmud, would seem to have been appeal to the intelligence of the pupil for establishing the reasonableness of application to study. "Be assiduous

196 Cf. Aboth, V, 21; Keluboth, 50a.
197 Ibid.
198 Succah, 42a.
199 Kidd, 29a.
200 Sanh., 17b.
201 Ber., 63b.

in study for knowledge cannot be acquired through inheritance."[202] Then, the Jew made a careful analysis of the individual capacity of the child and did not attempt normally to extort the same amount of work from pupils differing widely in mentality. There are four categories of pupils mentioned in the Mishna. "Four characters are found among those who sit for instruction before the wise; they correspond to a sponge, a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve. The sponge imbibes all the funnel receives at one end and discharges at the other, the strainer suffers the wine to pass through but retains the dregs, and the sieve removes the bran but retains the fine flour."[203] The different classes of pupils were to get each a different measure of instruction. Then the lessons were never to be unduly long. "If you attempt to grasp too much at once, you grasp nothing at all."[204] Various devices were employed to aid the memory. These were all the more important since memorizing the Law, etc., formed a large part of the school work. We find such psychological wisdom as "Speaking aloud the sentence which is being learned fixes it in the memory."[205] As a warning against silent study, we are told that Rabbi Elezer had a pupil who studied without articulating the words of his lessons and in consequence forgot everything in three years."[206] Then, mnemonics, such as associating a place with a number, was employed. We also find catch-words, similarly sounded words, proverbs of Scripture or of the Mishna,—all made use of as an aid to the memory through association of sounds, ideas, etc.[207] "No man," said Rabbi Chisda, "can acquire a knowledge of the Law unless he endeavors to fix the same in his memory by certain marks and signs."[208]

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202 Aboth, 2, XII.
203 Aboth, V, 18.
204 Kidd, 17a.
205 Erubin, 54a.
206 Ibid.
207 Taanith, 14a; Joma, 21b; Mishna Shekalim, V.
208 Erubin, 54b.

The Talmud has much to say about the selection of a teacher and his qualifications. In the first place, young teachers are not to be employed, for, "Instruction by young teachers is like sour grapes and new wine; instruction by older teachers, however, is like ripe grapes and old wine."[209] Then "The passionate or hasty man cannot be a teacher."[210] Patience would seem to have been a very much needed qualification since the work could not help being monotonous through the frequent repetition of the same content. Repetition to the number of four hundred times is mentioned[211] and reviewing one hundred and one times was considered to be better than one hundred times.[212]

But if the teacher was to be carefully chosen and to be assiduous in the performance of his duties, the pupil had enjoined upon him the duty of respect for his teacher. "The fear of the instructor should be as the fear of heaven."[213] "He who learneth of an associate one chapter, sentence, verse or word, should behave towards him with the greatest respect."[214] External signs of respect such as walking either behind the teacher or at his left side are enjoined.[215] The teacher must never be called by name.[216] His seat should never be occupied by the pupil and his words should never be refuted, at least in his presence.[217] Moreover, if both parent and teacher were in need, the pupil should aid the teacher first, then the parent.[218]

Motives for study as inculcated in the Talmud were, then, as in pre-Talmudic times, zeal for their religion and

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209 Aboth, IV, 20.
210 Aboth, II, 57.
211 Erubin, 54b.
212 Hag., IX, 6.
213 Aboth, IV, 12.
214 Perek R. Meir, VI, 3.
215 Joma, 37a.
216 Sanh., 100a.
217 Berachoth, 27a.
218 Baba Metsia, 33a; Harajoth, 13a.

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their Law. Then, as an immediate aid in maintaining or securing attention, appeal is rather made to the intellect. Corporal punishment is rarely referred to. The Talmud forbids striking a grown-up son, permits corporal punishment only when other means fail, and then only minimum punishment. The respect and reverence for the teacher, so frequently enjoined, was, we think, a splendid incentive to persevering effort on the part of the pupil. The careful appraising of the natural gifts and the natural short-comings of the child would make for harmonious work.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Talmudic precepts as written down during the early centuries of the Christian Era, were milder and sweeter than these same precepts as operative during the preceding centuries. The modifying influences were due not to any change in the character of the people but to the teachings of Christianity. This, the Christian ideal in its training, will be treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL

The Hebrew People during the centuries preceding the Birth of Christ had centered their educational endeavor primarily, as we saw above,[219] on the "Law" as a unifying principle; the pagan countries which we studied aimed at State-utilitarianism, in Sparta; physical and mental excellence of the individual, in Athens; practical prudence or "business excellence," in Rome. The motives employed paralleled in moral worth the ideal in each case, as we saw. Christ came and set up a definite ideal differing essentially from the Pagan, and also differing markedly, though not essentially, from that obedience to the "Law" as interpreted by the Jewish Scribe. The new standard of value was, and for practical Christians continues to be, the spiritual or ethical.

The time foretold for the coming of the Redeemer came; all the prophesies relative to the exact time of His Birth had been fulfilled. "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till He come that is to be sent, and He shall be the expectation of nations."[220] The "seventy weeks" from the second building up of the temple had passed[221] and with the fulfillment of the time Christ was born.

The Birth of the Redeemer is the focus towards which all previous history converges and from which all subsequent history, whether social, political, or educational, diverges. The Christian ideal was not destructive of what was positive or truthful, whether found in Greek philosophical thought, Roman jurisprudence, or in Rabbinical teaching. Everything in philosophy, or in educational theory or practice worthy of permanence, was re-

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219 Cf. p. 56ff.
220 Gen. XLIX, 10.
221 Dan., IX, 24ff; Cf. Ag., II, 1-12; *et al.*

tained but first purified and sanctified and transformed by the vivifying power of the Word of God. Christianity appraised everything by a new standard of value, the spiritual as against the Pagan; and the turning of the heart towards God, worshipping Him in "spirit and in truth," as against the innumerable observances, wearing of phylacteries, making long public prayers, countless washings, etc., of the Jews.

The ideal man to the Christian is not Achilles, the brave; nor Odysseus, the wise or the crafty; nor the man who merely observes the "Law" in all its minutiae. The Christian ideal is not less high than the infinite perfection of God. "Be ye perfect as also your heavenly father is."[222] To the young man who had kept all the commandments from his youth and had, therefore, arrived at that perfection required by the Law, a still higher step was counseled: "Yet one thing is wanting to thee, sell all whatever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasures in heaven: and come, follow Me."[223] Thus the Christian's way leads always from one height to another until, let us hope, his upward striving is finally rewarded by the possession of God.

Many events, ordained, no doubt, by the Providence of God, prepared the way for the spread of Christianity. Many others would seem to point to the inopportuneness, if we dare use the word here, of the appearance of a Messiah teaching a religion so transcendently spiritual. Among the latter, was the gross sensuality or, we might say, animality to which the large part of mankind had sunk. "Eat, drink, enjoy yourself; the rest is nothing."[224] Moreover it was a world of contention and strife and jealousy. Yet in this self-same world, during the lifetime of the Apostles, the Gospel of universal brotherhood and love "For all the law is fulfilled in one word: Thou

[222] Matt. V, 48.
[223] Luke, XVIII, 22.
[224] Strabo, XIV, 4; Cf. Rom., I, 24ff; I Cor., V, 1; *et al.*

shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,"[225] was spread far and wide.

Paradoxical as it may seem, the low moral level of the majority of men at the time, while, of course, not an expression of the Providence of God but of the perverted will of man, yet aided by the very revoltingness of its degradation, to bring about a reaction, at least in the better disposed. The natural law,[226] we know, spoke to the hearts of the many making it but a step from disgust for the sensuality of the times to the willingness to accept the doctrines of Christianity with all its infinitely high ideals. When the pendulum swings far in one direction, we may be sure it will retrace its own arc quite as far in the opposite direction. Some one has said that things had come to such a pass in the years preceding the Coming of the Redeemer that one of two ends alone seemed possible, either the regeneration or the extinction of mankind. "On this sated and weary world the preaching of the Apostles and their successors made a vivid impression, with its assertion of a new kingdom and a new ruler in the yet unconquered province of the human heart."[227]

A further circumstance tending to hasten the acceptance of the truths of Christianity was the fact that belief in the gods had long since almost entirely died out. This was more especially true in intellectual and philosophical circles.[228] The only semblance of religion remaining, outside of the vaguely defined God, identified with nature, of the Stoic, was the worship, in name at least, of the imperial ruler and belief in various superstitions imported into the Empire.[229]

Then, the Greek language had been made, through the conquests of Alexander, the "learned" language of the

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225 Gal., V, 14.
226 Cf. Cic. De Leg., I, 33.
227 Shahan, Begin. Christ. N. Y., 1903, p. 29.
228 Cf. Juv., II, 49; Tac. Ann., IV, 16.
229 Cf. Tac. Ann., XVI, 6; Juv., VI, 489.

civilized world. To this advantage of unity of language was added the asset, through the marvelous growth of the Roman Empire, of political unity. Add to these, the network of good roads built by the Romans for the speedy transfer of their legions, making travel more expeditious than it was for us perhaps down to the nineteenth century, the era of railroad building. Shahan, commenting upon the status of the world at the time of Christ, says: "The last act in the preparation of that political unity which facilitated the success of the Gospel was the one that placed all earthly power in the hands of Rome. It was the end and acme of state-building in antiquity, and furnished the needed basis for the sublime social and religious revolution then at hand."[230] Unity of language among civilized peoples and unity of government were providential agents aiding the Apostles in the spread of the Gospel, but they were at best, of course, only extrinsic agents. The intrinsic causes of the rapid spread of the Gospel were the infinite sublimity of the doctrines, the natural tendency of the intellect towards truth, the burning zeal of the Apostles aroused by personal intercourse with the Master, and the Wisdom of the Holy Ghost, so abundantly bestowed upon them on the first Christian Pentecost, speaking through them. "The work is not of persuasiveness, but Christianity is a thing of might, wheresoever it is hated by the world."[231] So rapid was the spread of this "thing of might," Christianity, that Tertullian could write when the Church was barely two centuries old, "We are but of yesterday, and yet we fill every place—your cities, your islands, your fortresses, your camps, your colonies, your tribes, your decuries, your councils, the palace, the senate, the forum, we leave you nothing but your temple.[232]

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[230] Shahan, Begin. Christ. N. Y., 1903, p. 19; Cf. Orig. Contra Cel., II, 30.

[231] St. Ignat. Epist. Rom., 3.

[232] Tertul. Apologet., XXXVII.

The first specific fact relative to Christian education which we make note of in the works of the early Fathers is the dignified position assigned to woman. She is given for the first time, we find, with modifications noted below,[233] the same educational privileges as man. Clement of Alexandria is the earliest Christian writer we could find who gives formal expression to this, but the dignity of woman is mirrored repeatedly in both the Old and the New Testament. "Let us, then," says Clement of Alexandria, "embracing more and more the good obedience, give ourselves to the Lord, clinging to what is surest, the cable of faith in Him, and understanding that the virtue of man and woman is the same. If the God of both is one, the Master of both is one; one church, one temperance, one modesty; their food is common, marriage an equal yoke; respiration, sight, hearing, knowledge, hope, obedience, love, all alike. And those whose life is common have common grace and a common salvation; common to them are love and training."[234] St. Jerome makes a staunch protest against some zealots of his time who took exception to his dedicating some of his important works to the two illustrious women, Paula and Eustochium, who had aided him in the preparation of the Vulgate and whose scholarliness was such that he could appeal to them for criticism: "Read my Book of Kings—read also the Latin and Greek translation and compare them with my version."[235] "There are people, O Paula and Eustochium," he writes, "who take offense at seeing your names at the beginning of my works. These people do not know that Olda prophesied when the men were mute, that while Barach was atremble, Deborah saved Israel; that Judith and Esther delivered from supreme peril the children of God. I pass over in silence Anna and Eliza-

233 Cf. p. 80.
234 Clem. Alex. Paedagogus, I, 4.
235 Pref. Comment. Soph.

beth and the holy women in the Gospel, but humble stars when compared with the great luminary, Mary, . . . was not it women to whom our Lord first appeared after the resurrection?''[236]

The Christian appraising of woman is at polar distances from that of Demosthenes, who catalogues all women in one of the four classes, heterae, slaves, bearers of children, caretakers of the home.[237] The status, social and educational, of the Athenian woman about whom he wrote was shamefully low. Nowhere did we find provision made for the instruction of girls except for some meagre training in domestic science given by the mother or the nurse. Plato, it is true, speaks, in passing, of educated women who were present at the performance of the tragedies at the theatre, but these we think were heterae.[238] A further mention is made of women of noble birth receiving instruction in music and dancing.[239] These are almost isolated instances and represent the maximum of education and not the norm. References to the circumscribed and monotonous lives of women and their relegation to prescribed and secluded apartments—the gynaeconitis—are made repeatedly.[240] Perhaps the best idea of the pathetic life of the woman can be gleaned from Plato's comparing the life of a tyrannical man who is shut off from all human intercourse to the life of a woman, ''he lives in his hole like a woman hidden in the house.''[241]

The meagre educational opportunities given to women are objected to by both Plato and Aristotle. Plato's objection is purely utilitarian. He contends that since only half of the population is being trained, the state is re-

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236 Pref. Comment. Soph.
237 Demosth. In Nearam, 122.
238 Plato, Laws, 658d.
239 Aristoph. Lysistrata, 641ff.
240 Cf. Plato, Laws, 781c; Xenophon, Oecon., VII, 5.
241 Plato, Rep., 579b.

duced in efficiency to one-half.[242] In the Republic he lays down the platitude to the effect that the "gifts of nature are alike diffused in men and women."[243] But the influence of the philosopher was not weighty enough to overcome the long-standing prejudice of the Athenian. Strange to say, the only women who were given all the educational opportunities of the times were a class whom we would term social-outcasts or Pariah. Even the brilliancy of intellect and the political astuteness of Aspasia do not lessen our mistrust of her when we consider the total unfemininity of her life.

Spartan girls, it is true, were given the same training practically as Spartan boys, but this training was almost wholly physical, and if the effect even upon the sterner sex was brutalizing, as was pointed out above,[244] how pernicious must it have been on the gentler sex. Besides, the aim of this training was wholly state-utilitarianism or, perhaps we had better say, state-selfishness, for Sparta had in mind in her training of girls the strengthening and development of the body so as to ensure a healthy offspring. Their training was not for the betterment of the individual herself but for the production of life.

When we come to the Roman matron, we find her occupying a more dignified and deserving position as queen of the home,[245] as far down as about the middle of the third century B. C. From that time on, her position became gradually more and more unenviable. The sanctity of the home was gradually invaded by the infidelity of an overwhelmingly large number of husbands, and divorces seem to have been readily secured on the slightest pretext or, as it seems, at the will of the husband. Divorces were especially prevalent after the Punic Wars. It is surpris-

242 Laws, VII, 855.
243 Rep., V, 451.
244 Cf. p. 31.
245 Cf. p. 47 above.

ing to find the number of Rome's truly great generals who had put away their wives. Among these are Sulla, Caesar, Pompey, Marc Anthony, and Augustus. The Roman marriage was essentially different from the Christian marriage. If the maiden contracted the kind of marriage which gave to the husband the "manus," she was considered only as the husband's daughter and as the sister of his children. The husband had over her then the right of correction.[246] Solemn marriages or confarreation, which was the marriage bond most difficult to abolish through divorce, had become very rare at the commencement of the Christian Era, according to Tacitus.[247] The result was that since, previous to this, the high priest could only be selected from the product of such a union, a change had to be made in the requirement for eligibility to this office. "The custom had been to name three patriarchs, descended from a marriage contracted according to the right of confarreation. Out of the number proposed, one was elected high-priest. But this was no longer in use. The ceremony of confarreation was grown obsolete; or, if observed, it was by a few families only."[248] This was about 23 A. D., and is significant, showing as it does, that solemn marriages were considered too binding. Stranger still, learned women were particularly dreaded as wives. Martial says: "Sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima conjux."[249] Christianity teaches that the intellect is one of the noblest faculties of the soul, and has always set a premium upon learning.

But of first importance in Christian education is the value placed upon human life. This high estimate flows naturally from the knowledge of the primal right given the individual to retain that life which God has given him until the same Hand that created the vital principle, the

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[246] Cf. Duruy, Hist. Rome, Vol. V, Sec. II, p. 542.
[247] Cf. below.
[248] Tac. Ann., IV, 16.
[249] Mart. Epigr., II, 90; Cf. Juv. Sat., VI, 434ff.

immortal soul, separates soul and body, bringing about that dissolution which we term death. There are exceptions to this general law as, for instance, when a man is a menace to the lives of his neighbors. But this is a case calling for special consideration. Christianity teaches that the right of life, being a primary right, as such takes precedence over so-called secondary rights, so that if a person be in extreme need, the secondary right of property is non-existent to the extent that enough food or means of getting it may be taken to support life temporarily. Again, if one's life is in danger, he may, to protect himself, kill his assailant if need be. Thus, even the Decalogue yields to this primary right.

Contrast this Christian dispensation with the state-parent in Sparta depriving children of life in the effort to teach them endurance.[250] Or compare the Christian's care of the infant with the total disregard for life which we find in the Athenian and Roman homes. In these homes, the babes were reared if the father so willed and exposed to die on the cross-roads or mountain ravines in case the rearing of one more child did not seem expedient. In Sparta, where the State assumed the duty of parent, the State accordingly said to the child "you may live" or if it were a fragile child, "you must die." Even Plato and Aristotle sanction the custom of exposing children. Plato counsels also other means not less ignoble,[251] but under certain conditions he thinks the infants ought to be killed. The scheme was as follows: "The principle has been already laid down that the best of either sex should be united with the best as often as possible, and the inferior with the inferior; and they are to rear the offspring of the one union, but not of the other; for this is the only way of keeping the flock in prime condition."[252] This is a purely biological or animal arrangement and is

250 Cf. p. 27 above.
251 Cf. Rep. V, 461; Theat., 151c; Aris. Pol., 1335b.
252 Rep. V, 459.

a surprising statement from one who believed in the immortality of the human soul. Aristotle says tersely, "With respect to the exposing or bringing up of children, let it be a law, that nothing imperfect or maimed be brought up."[253] In the same connection he suggests other regulations to be resorted to in order to prevent the City-state from increasing too rapidly in infant population.[254]

How different Plato's ideal scheme of marriage and parentage from the Christian dispensation—love, sanctified by the Sacrament of Matrimony, uniting youth and maiden in an indissoluble union. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall cleave to his wife."[255] "Husbands love your wives, as Christ also loved the church, and delivered Himself up for it."[256] "Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine, on the sides of thy house. Thy children as young olive plants around thy table."[257]

The practice of exposing children was much more common in Rome than in Sparta or in Athens. Duruy enumerates some of the causes leading most often to this barbarous custom, "doubts as to the parentage, as in the case of the Emperor Claudius who ordered his daughter to be cast down at the corner of a boundary,[258] sometimes also poverty, or a family already numerous. . . . Feebleness of constitution, deformity, brought destruction."[259] We have abundant evidence of the custom of putting the deformed to death.[260] Seneca dismisses the question in a matter-of-fact way by saying, "liberos quoque, si debiles monstriosque editi sunt, mergimus."[261] There seems to

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253 Pol., 1335b.
254 Loc. cit.
255 Eph. V, 31.
256 Eph. V, 25.
257 Ps. CXXVII, 3.
258 Suet., Oct. 65.
259 Duruy, Hist. Rome, Vol. V, 518, Sec. 2.
260 Cf. Cic. De Leg., III, 8; Liv., XXVII, 37;; II, 41; Dionys., VIII; 79, et al.
261 Sen. De Ira, I, 15.

have been considerable discrimination in favor of male issue.[262] In case of a father's enforced absence from home at the time of his child's birth, previous leave, it would appear, was given to raise the infant or it was ordered to be exposed. "It is necessary for me to go away from here but the offspring that shall be born do thou bring up."[263]

Christianity, of course, teaches that the fact of being alive gives to the individual, whether male or female, weak or strong, bond or free, the right to live. "It taught from the beginning that God is Father of all mankind, that every child born into the world is impressed by the image and likeness of God, that human life is a sacred thing, and that no system of education may be tolerated which overlooks or forgets the infinite value of a soul."* In Christian times, the power of the father is not absolute but fiduciary. He is bound by both conscience and the laws of the land to not only let his children live but also, while they are in their minority, to support them. It is a fact not without much significance, as showing Christ's infinite compassion for the weak and suffering, that out of the forty-nine times we could find specific mention made of the kind of miracle the Saviour wrought, no fewer than twenty-seven are restorations of health, sometimes many, like the ten lepers, are made whole at one time; or raising of the dead. Christ checked the effect of the laws of disintegration and restored to perfect health one who had been dead three days and "who already stinketh"; the Greeks and the Romans took the lives of their own infants at will; often, too, thousands of adults died to "make a Roman holiday."

Not only did Christ have compassion upon the sick but He lays down as a command to the twelve whom He sent

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262 Cf. Terent, Heautontim., Act, IV, Sc. I.
263 Plaut. Amph., 556; Terent., Andr., 219.
* Turner, Christ. Ideal of Ed., Cath. Ed. Rev., Vol. II, p. 867.

out to convert the world, "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils; freely have you received, freely give."[264] And the command was accompanied by the gift of miracles. Charity towards the suffering is a distinctly Christian virtue. Charity is the first and, in the last analysis, the only condition for entering the kingdom of heaven. "For I was hungry and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick, and you visited me; I was in prison and you came to me. . . . Amen, I say to you, as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me."[265] With the Greeks and the Romans, while hospitality was practiced as one of the amenities of life, charity was unknown.[266] The semblance of charity would, no doubt, have been deemed weakness.

We saw above[267] that the principal motive for effort proposed in Sparta's and in Athens' elaborate system of contests, the training for which took up such a large part of the lives of their youth, was emulation. Leaving out of consideration the gross excesses to which Greek contests, "fights," etc., were carried, necessitating sacrifice of time, and leading to brutality and frequently to loss of life, the motive itself would be wholly at variance with the spirit of Christianity. In the first place, objects of sense are given the dominant position. "Here the prizes are always to the strong (most capable), and, were there no higher goal of human endeavor, man would be compelled to maintain himself in the ape and tiger struggle for existence through his development of tooth, claw and muscle."[268] The Christian's eye is ever directed towards spiritual goods rather than towards objects of sense.

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264 Matt., X, 8.
265 Matt., XXV, 35, 40.
266 Cf. p. 18 above.
267 Cf. p. 19ff.
268 Shields, Christ. Ideal of Ed., Cath. Ed. Rev., Vol. IV, p. 40.

"Be not solicitous, therefore, saying, "What shall we eat: or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the heathens seek. For your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things."[269] But besides, two distinctly Christian virtues, charity and humility, were here violated. "But above all these things have charity, which is the bond of perfection."[270] "That no flesh shall glory in his sight."[271] "Be humbled in the sight of the Lord, and He will exalt you."[272] What hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?"[273] St. Paul tells the Corinthians that he does all things for the Gospel's sake and reminds them that of all who run in their races only one receives the prize, though, as we may infer, each of the contestants expends every effort and therefore does not lose through any culpable negligence. Still, only one could win. But in the contest for spiritual goods all may win. "So run that you may obtain."[274] "And every one that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things: and they indeed that they may receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible one."[275] In the Christian dispensation, not success, but spiritualized motive accompanied by earnest effort ensures the reward. The Christian judges not by the changing standards of time but of eternity. "The poor, ignorant creature who, in the midst of trials and sufferings, gives expression to the optimistic sentiment, 'What does it matter if one has the grace of God,' is wiser than all the sages, and unknowingly sums up the whole philosophy of Christian education. Spiritual interests take precedence over the

269 Matt., VI., 31ff.
270 Col., III, 14.
271 I Cor., I, 29.
272 James, IV, 10.
273 I Cor., IV, 7.
274 I Cor., IX, 27.
275 I Cor., IX, 25.

physical, the intellectual, and, if a conflict were possible, even the moral."[276]

Another important point of contrast between the Greek, especially the Spartan, life of training and the Christian life is that the Spartan spent most of his time in *preparation* for his life as soldier-citizen. He took no time to *live;* the Christian is taught to fulfill his duties day by day—life and not preparation for life. The most ordinary duties, as the Christian knows, are supernaturalized by the intention of fulfilling, in their accomplishment, the Will of God. "Therefore, whether you eat or drink, or whatsoever else you do, do all to the glory of God."[277]

Next to emulation, inhibition was perhaps the means most often used to maintain discipline. The Roman boy was flogged[278] to make him memorize his Tables of the Law; the Spartan boy was flogged to teach him endurance,[279] to punish him for an answer lacking in Spartan brevity, or to punish him for lack of dexterity[280] in stealing, etc. Christ's method was never coercive. Only on a single occasion do we find Him resorting to corporal punishment.[281] Rarely or never do we find any other method used than appeal to the feelings and to reason. When many of His disciples "went back and walked no more with Him,"[282] when He told them that He was to give them His Flesh to eat and His Blood to drink, He did not force them to remain and accept this truth. He knew the utter uselessness of coercion. "Therefore did I say to you, that no man can come to me, unless it be given him by my Father."[283]

Christ rarely uses the negative method. He never de-

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276 Turner, Ch. Ideal of Ed., CATH. ED. REV., Vol. II, p. 870.
277 I Cor., X, 31.
278 Cf. p. 50ff above.
279 Cf. p. 27 above.
280 Ibid.
281 John, II, 14ff.
282 John, VI, 67.
283 Ibid, 66.

nounces the individual. When He denounces, it is a general denunciation of evils common to a class. "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you are like to whited sepulchres."[284]

The negative method which entered so largely into Pagan motivation appealed not to the intellect but to the will. It simply blocked up the channel for the outflow of nerve energy forcing the current through other channels. The Christian teacher knows that, though he can block the channel, he cannot annihilate the current. It will flow out through some channel, perhaps more anti-social or self-degrading. The positive method, the one used by the Master, is also the ideal method to the mind of the Christian teacher. This method appeals to the intellect by arousing feelings of brotherly love, appreciation of the beauty of high conduct, etc. This positive method opens another channel for the outlet of the nerve-current and a more desirable one.

The Christian teacher's aim is to build up character and therefore he recognizes that while the negative method must be used at times in the case of very young children or to prevent positive evil, what is desirable and good should not be associated with what is painful. But, if the negative method of punishment should be used to coerce the will to make the intellect lend itself to the acquiring of knowledge which is useful and good, a painful reaction is associated with a desirable line of activity. This was not Christ's method. Denunciation and the pain it caused was associated only with what was vicious and highly reprehensible and, then, inhibition was used only as a last resort.

To the Christian, discipline exists for the sake of building up character; to develop strength of will and docility of will at the same time; to enable the child to obey a law because it is a law. Fiat justitia, ruat coelum. But the

[284] Matt., XXIII, 27.

Christian obedience to the law is not obedience to the letter of the law, as with the Jews, but primarily to the spirit of the law. "The letter killeth but the spirit quickeneth." It is not formal obedience merely but obedience of heart and mind, not lip-service, nor self-prescribed service as with the Jews. "And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and precepts of men. For leaving the commandments of God you hold the traditions of men, the washing of pots and of cups: and many other things do you like to these."[285] Thus the Jews failed through their stubborn tenacity to self-imposed, minor regulations, wrongly thought to be prescribed by the "Law," while the fundamental virtues were neglected. In Sparta, again, obedience to the law was not free obedience. That it did not build up character was evident from the fact that, when away from the vigilance of his own laws, as we showed above,[286] the Spartan of all men was the most lawless.

While an appreciation of the aesthetic enters into the Church's every activity, as seen in the beauty of her liturgical services, the magnificence of her sacred edifice, etc., yet, outside the power beauty has to raise the mind to contemplate the Source of all beauty, to raise the thoughts above the sordidness of what is purely utilitarian, etc., the Christian knows that beauty consists primarily in beauty of soul. The Christian knows that the most decrepit and deformed body may be the abode of a soul capable of the most exalted aspirations. The Athenian Greeks worshipped[287] physical beauty and so highly developed was their aesthetic sense to the exclusion of the spiritual that they could not associate goodness or virtue with an ungainly body.

But endless comparisons could be made between the two systems, one the ideally perfect, if strictly adhered

[285] Mark, VII, 7ff.
[286] p. 35.
[287] Cf. p. 42 above.

to; the other, imperfect in its foundation and, therefore, in its whole superstructure.

One more point we would note. The Romans[288] trained for excellence in the avocations of this world alone. Christ asks the question which the Christian child can answer better than the pagan philosopher: "What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?"[289]

This brings us to the constructive side of this chapter, to the question, how did the Master teach? What was there in the manner of His teaching that made the five thousand follow Him into the desert, forgetting the obvious fact that they were becoming hungry and fatigued and that they had brought "no bread." No doubt, it was in large part the infinite charm of His Personality, but what concerns us most here is His method of instructing those who were thus drawn to follow Him.

In the first place we have the testimony of both St. Mark and St. Matthew: "Without parables He did not speak to them."[290] The Saviour never begins by stating an abstract principle or law. He embodies His teaching in concrete form and in such a manner as to appeal to the feelings and to the previous contents of the brain, the apperception masses. He utilizes the instincts; He puts His teaching into germinal form capable of development. When Christ wished to bring home to His hearers the lesson of the patience of God in dealing with sinners, He prepared them to receive the lesson by arousing interest and readiness to believe His Divine Word through the working of miracles. On the same day, the Sabbath, He cured the man with the withered hand,[291] and "many others followed Him and He healed them" and cast out a devil, "and all the multitude were amazed." Then He

288 Cf. p. 48 above.
289 Mark, VIII, 36.
290 Matt., XIII, 34; Mark, IV, 33.
291 Matt., XII, 10ff.

tells them the simple but wonderful parable of the cockle and the good seed.[292] He appeals to the familiar objects of sense around Him. The Saviour and his disciples had gone "through the corn on the Sabbath; and His disciples being hungry began to pluck the ears, and to eat."[293] The parable, then, must have been related in a country place with the ripe, full ears of corn (wheat) waving round. The Teacher knew the dread the husbandman has of cockle because of its perniciousness in yielding so much seed, thus multiplying with alarming ease and hence sapping the desirable mineral content from the soil. He knew it was furthermore dreaded, since, if ground with the ripe grain, it caused sickness to those who ate the flour. Thus was appeal made to their experience and to their feeling, perhaps, as well. Then the sower sowing the seed, the oversowing of the cockle, the surprise and chagrin it would cause the husbandman to find cockle springing up where he had sown only good seed and the inutility of trying to pull out the cockle, the roots of which would be so interlaced with the wheat, without injuring the latter. All these facts appealed to them and were readily understood and accepted. But this was as far as the multitude could follow Him for the present. He had aroused their interest and also that laudable curiosity which normally is a concomitant in the brain with partially known truth apprehended as good. But they were not yet ready for the application of the parable. Christ follows the first with two more parables,[294] developing the same truth, one the comparison of the Kingdom of Heaven to a mustard seed; the other, the comparison of the Kingdom of Heaven to leaven. All three parables, as we see, were drawn from objects of familiar everyday experience. This, no doubt, was primarily in order to make the comparison meaningful, but also, we think, in order to recall to mem-

[292] Matt., XIII, 24-30, 36-45.
[293] Matt., XII, 1.
[294] Matt., XIII, 31ff.

ory in the future the Saviour's teaching whenever these same objects of sense were presented. The application of the parable was too hard for them as yet. Had He told them that the cockle represented sinners, it would perhaps have driven them to more scrupulous observance of the "letter of the law which killeth." Whatever His motive, the evangelist simply relates that He dismissed the multitude and went into the house, "and his disciples came to him, saying expound to us the parable of the cockle of the field."[295] Then He explains to them alone the significance of the parable. The Perfect Teacher gave to each of the two classes, the mixed multitude of tillers of the soil and shepherds together with His few disciples, and the disciples apart from the multitude, just such a degree of knowledge as each class had the capacity to assimilate. Thus Christ withholds an important fact until the minds of His hearers are prepared to receive it. His method takes into account all the laws of mental development that the past half century of psychological research has imperfectly formulated. The principles that especially appear in connection with this parable are the principles of assimilation and apperception. "The center of orientation in educational endeavor" is not the body of truth to be imparted but the needs and capacities of the growing mind.[296] Saint Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, in his Epistle to the Trallians, written during the last quarter of the first century of the Christian Era, says: "Am I not able to write to you heavenly things? But I fear lest I should cause you harm being babes. So bear with me lest not being able to take them in you should be choked."[297] Thus was the method of Christ passed on to the Christian teacher through the Apostolic Fathers. This principle, in application, forms a striking contrast

[295] Matt., XIII, 36.
[296] Cf. Shields, Ed. Psych., Wash., 1905. Chap. 25.
[297] St. Ig. Epist., Tral. 5.

to the Greek custom of giving to the youngest child Homer for his first book.

The fear that unassimilated and therefore non-fecund truth would be rather harmful than beneficial seems to us to be implied in the parable of the talents,[298] the barren fig-tree,[299] etc.

The truths that Christ imparted in the parables, as elsewhere, are not static but dynamic. They are great germinal truths suited in their unfolding to the capacity of the mind of the child of six or that of the adult scholar. Christ does not present isolated principles, guiding conduct, one by one, in such a way as to make it possible to memorize them and put them into practice before another principle is imparted. He presents great, germinal thoughts in concrete form and clothed in all the grace and persuasiveness of the parable or the similitude. He appeals to the feeling of parental love and care to make the multitude understand His love. "Can a woman forget her infant, so as not to have pity on the son of her womb? But if she should forget, yet will not I forget thee."[300] This prophesy of the Messiah from Isaias is fulfilled in the New Testament—"I am the good shepherd."[301] "Having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them unto the end."[302] The great germinal fact of God's Providence for men is embodied in the parable of the lilies of the field.[303] When He wishes to bring home the consoling fact that all our prayers are answered, He expresses the truth under the easily understood metaphor of "asking" and "knocking." "Ask, and it shall be given to you; seek,, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened to you."[304] But lest the asker might doubt, He

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298 Matt., XXV, 14ff.
299 Luke, XIII, 6ff.
300 Is., XLIX, 15.
301 John X, 11.
302 John XIII, 1.
303 Matt., VI, 28ff.
304 Matt., VII, 7.

compares His love to the love of a father for his son. He appeals to their feeling of paternal love. "What man is there among you of whom if his son shall ask him bread, will he reach him a stone? . . . How much more will your Father Who is in heaven give good things to them that ask him."[305] From the love and care of the earthly father, the love and care of the Heavenly Father are taught.

But examples might be taken from almost every page of the Holy Gospels. These principles, the embodiment of great germinal truths in concrete setting, appeal to the apperception masses, appeal to the interests and to the feelings, presentation of truth in such a manner as to be capable of being assimilated at once, are some of the principal ones that find expression in all books on teaching[306] which aim, however imperfectly, to embody the method of the Great Teacher.

One more point of contrast between the Pagan, the Jewish, and the Christian educator stands out prominently. The large part played by inhibition in the two former types of schools has been discussed. The ideal Christian teacher knows that love and joy, and freedom, except in what is sinful or anti-social, are the natural companions of the child and are as necessary for his mental and bodily development as warmth and moisture and freedom from undue restraint are to the flower. When the apostles would have kept back the little ones from the tired Master, He rebukes them and gives expression to what may be termed the Magna Charta of childhood: "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven."[307]

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[305] Matt., VII, 9ff.
[306] Cf. Shields, Prim. Meth. Wash., 1912.
[307] Mark, X, 14.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

As we look over this work in retrospect and try to formulate the main facts brought out, one fact that stands out prominently is the overwhelming dominance given to the play of a single instinct—emulation. We maintain that this is an instinct whose cultivation through stimuli outside what the individual himself normally meets is unnecessary and undesirable, that it is over-cultivated in the large mass of men without conscious cultivation, that despite the spread of the Gospel with its message of the common brotherhood of men, emulation, finding its satisfaction in amassed wealth to the exclusion of others, in positions of trust held worthily or unworthily, etc., is the basis of many of the social evils of today. Nowhere, in our study, down to approximately 100 A. D., except in Pagan educational sources, could we find any attempt at justification for its cultivation, though its power to sustain effort is dwelt upon by educational writers of the Renaissance and the early modern periods, and neither the Old, nor the New Testament ever put forward this motive as an incentive to effort.

Next, it seemed that the system of state assumption of the right of parent to educate, in Sparta, led to many undesirable results. Among these we would mention the weakening of the family bond. Then, Sparta's constant vigilance from birth to death, making the free moral act of an individual an impossibility in effect, and making it almost inevitable that if the prop of state supervision were removed by going outside the state, the citizen would, as he actually did, become the most lawless of men, was deplorable in its consequences. In contrast with Sparta's code of morals, the Christian code would class all such acts done under

the stress of vigilance simply, compulsion, or routine, as non-moral; therefore, the lowest grade of human acts on the border land past the purely animal.

Physical strength in Sparta and perfection of body in Athens, being at a premium, the result was that life sank to the stage where only the "fittest survive." Infants were ruthlessly exposed, as we saw.

Then the life of the woman was held down to almost the purely animal level in both Sparta and Athens. She had not even the primary right of mother to raise her offspring. The state in one case and her husband in the other gave her the *privilege* to see grow up to manhood or womanhood the infant which she bore. This deplorable and unnatural condition existed also in Rome, as we saw.

The total disregard of property rights in Sparta would to us be reprehensible, though there can be no doubt that property was not so carefully differentiated in Sparta as it is in a modern commonwealth.

Then, the training to meet attacks from only one side, the pain side, in Sparta and the lack of training to meet attacks from the pleasure side was wholly contrary to the laws of life. Expression of physical pain is a consequence of a highly developed nervous system, and while the man who shrinks from bearing any pain is a coward, still, bearing excessive pain unflinchingly is not normal. The Saviour Himself prayed—"Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass away from me," yet, resigned to the will of the Father, he adds, "Not my will but thine be done." The Christian is taught to bear the pain sent to him by the will of the Father for his chastening, with resignation; the Pagan was taught to bear pain simply as a test of animal endurance. Self-imposed pain, if excessive, or undirected, in the Christian code of morals, is reprehensible.

The Christian training is primarily to meet attacks

coming from the pleasure side—not bearing pain unflinchingly but the direction of thought, word and deed so as to live spotlessly under the eye of a just Judge.

Next, that almost exclusive training in Athens for perfection of body and their extravagant praise of the beautiful in physical form, led, as we indicated before, to the love of the sensual. Besides, that undue liberty given the Athenian with no code of morals and no standard but the aesthetic, made him a volatile man, easily swayed by every novelty.

Rome's training for simply the proper fulfilling of the duties of business or avocation lacked that spiritual objective which Christians have and which supernaturalizes all their ordinary duties. Lacking this mooring, they lacked all.

In conclusion it must be admitted that the life of the Pagan child in the countries studied was not an enviable one. His being given a chance to live at all was problematic. His tasks were highly unfitted to the child mind. The motives used to hold him down to these unchildlike tasks were deplorable. These are some of the large facts that stand out darkly and prominently in pagan education.

The Hebrew ideal, as we saw, was high, obedience to the behests of Jehovah. Their limitations, we have already discussed—principally, narrowness in their interpretation of the "Law."

Christianity in teaching the dominance of the spiritual and the intellectual over the physical has struck at the roots of the evil in Pagan training; in proclaiming the dominance of the spirit of the law rather than the letter merely, it has struck at the roots of the failure in Jewish education. It has freed woman from a life little above animal existence, it has given to all children born into this world the right to live, it has surrounded the life of the child with joy and has lightened his labour of

acquiring his social inheritance by utilizing the God-given instincts. The Christian ideal is perfect, being moulded and modeled on the perfection of the Master; the limitations are those imposed by the working out of any ideal in these our limitations of time and space.

VITA

The author of this Dissertation, Sister Katharine McCarthy, O.S.B., was born January 18th, 1876, in Sunnidale, Ontario, Canada. She pursued her elementary studies in the school of her native town and passed the usual examination required for entrance into Canadian High Schools in 1885. In 1889 she entered the Collegiate Institute, Collingwood, Ontario, and remained there three years. Her academic work was then suspended for some time. In 1894 she entered the novitiate of the Sisters of St. Benedict, Duluth, Minn. From 1896 to 1911 she taught in the Sacred Heart Institute, Duluth, Minn., now the College of St. Scholastica, and worked at intervals in the University of Minnesota, the University of Chicago, and the College of St. Scholastica, receiving the A. B. degree in 1911. In 1908 she received the Minnesota State Professional Certificate. In the summer of 1911 she began graduate work at the Catholic University of America, following courses under Doctors Shields, Pace, Turner, McCormick, Coeln, Froning, Messrs. Parker and Teillard, the principal courses being in the departments of Education, Philosophy, Chemistry, and Biology.

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